

The copyright © of this thesis belongs to its rightful author and/or other copyright owner. Copies can be accessed and downloaded for non-commercial or learning purposes without any charge and permission. The thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted as a whole without the permission from its rightful owner. No alteration or changes in format is allowed without permission from its rightful owner.



**NEWSPAPERS FRAMING AND EXPERTS' PERCEPTIONS ON
ISSUES OF CORRUPTION IN SUDAN**



YASSIN BASHIR YASSIN HAMID

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
UNIVERSITI UTARA MALAYSIA
2019**



Awang Had Salleh
Graduate School
of Arts And Sciences

Universiti Utara Malaysia

PERAKUAN KERJA TESIS / DISERTASI
(Certification of thesis / dissertation)

Kami, yang bertandatangan, memperakukan bahawa
(We, the undersigned, certify that)

YASSIN BASHIR YASSIN HAMID

calon untuk Ijazah **PhD**
(candidate for the degree of)

telah mengemukakan tesis / disertasi yang bertajuk:
(has presented his/her thesis / dissertation of the following title):

"NEWSPAPERS FRAMING AND EXPERTS' PERCEPTIONS ON ISSUES OF CORRUPTION IN SUDAN"

seperti yang tercatat di muka surat tajuk dan kulit tesis / disertasi.
(as it appears on the title page and front cover of the thesis / dissertation).

Bahawa tesis/disertasi tersebut boleh diterima dari segi bentuk serta kandungan dan meliputi bidang ilmu dengan memuaskan, sebagaimana yang ditunjukkan oleh calon dalam ujian lisan yang diadakan pada : **06 Disember 2018.**

That the said thesis/dissertation is acceptable in form and content and displays a satisfactory knowledge of the field of study as demonstrated by the candidate through an oral examination held on: December 06, 2018.

Pengerusi Viva:
(Chairman for VIVA)

Prof. Dr. Che Su Mustaffa

Tandatangan
(Signature)

Pemeriksa Luar:
(External Examiner)

Assoc. Prof. Dr. C. Saraswathy @ Dr. Sara

Tandatangan
(Signature)

Pemeriksa Dalam:
(Internal Examiner)

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Norhafezah Yusof

Tandatangan
(Signature)

Nama Penyelia/Penyelia-penyelia:
(Name of Supervisor/Supervisors)

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Rosli Mohammed

Tandatangan
(Signature)

Nama Penyelia/Penyelia-penyelia:
(Name of Supervisor/Supervisors)

Dr. Mohd Khairie Ahmad

Tandatangan
(Signature)

Tarikh:

(Date) **December 06, 2018**

Permission to Use

In presenting this thesis in fulfilment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree from Universiti Utara Malaysia, I agree that the Universiti Library may make it freely available for inspection. I further agree that permission for the copying of this thesis in any manner, in whole or in part, for scholarly purpose may be granted by my supervisor(s) or, in their absence, by the Dean of Awang Had Salleh Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. It is understood that any copying, publication, or use of this thesis or parts thereof for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission. It is also understood that due recognition shall be given to me and to Universiti Utara Malaysia for any scholarly use which may be made of any material from my thesis.

Requests for permission to copy or to make other use of materials in this thesis, in whole or in part should be addressed to:

Dean of Awang Had Salleh Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

UUM College of Arts and Sciences

Universiti Utara Malaysia

06010, UUM Sintok

Abstrak

Di sebalik cabaran politik yang dihadapi sejak berdekad lamanya, sangat kurang data berhubung pbingkaian berita mengenai keadaan rasuah di Sudan. Pada masa yang sama, berleluasa keadaan tersebut menjejaskan proses perdamaian di Sudan. Justeru, satu kajian mendalam diperlukan untuk meneliti peranan yang dimainkan oleh akhbar serta persepsi wartawan terhadap rasuah. Objektif kajian ini adalah untuk meninjau liputan akhbar mengenai rasuah berdasarkan tahap keutamaan pemberitaan, pbingkaian dominan, corak pemilikan serta cabaran yang dihadapi oleh wartawan. Kajian ini meneliti isu tersebut berasaskan andaian dalam kerangka penetapan agenda dan teori pbingkaian berita. Dengan menggunakan kaedah gabungan penyelidikan, kaedah ini menawarkan satu pendekatan baharu secara sistematik serta mampu menyediakan kefahaman yang mendalam mengenai cara bagaimana akhbar di Sudan dapat menangani isu-isu rasuah kewangan. Bagi tujuan pengumpulan data, analisis kandungan dilakukan terhadap empat akhbar utama di Sudan, manakala temu bual mendalam melibatkan 20 wartawan dan editor akhbar kepunyaan kerajaan serta swasta terpilih. Data telah dianalisis secara deskriptif dan tematik menggunakan perisian SPSS serta NVivo 8. Dapatan mendapati bahawa akhbar Sudan menghadapi banyak kekangan yang menjejaskan prestasi kewartawannya. Namun demikian, keutamaan terhadap isu ini diberi perhatian yang tinggi manakala pbingkaian kebertanggungjawaban adalah yang dominan. Dapatan juga menunjukkan bahawa tahap pengaruh pemilikan terhadap kebebasan akhbar adalah tinggi. Antara cabaran-cabaran utama yang dihadapi ialah penyembunyian maklumat, kurangnya latihan penyiasatan serta cukai yang dikenakan dan kelemahan perundangan yang mengawal hak pemilikan pelbagai media. Sehubungan itu, kajian ini telah menyumbang secara signifikan terhadap perspektif menyeluruh mengenai cara bagaimana pbingkaian akhbar meninggalkan kesan ke atas orang awam tentang kesedaran mengenai rasuah dan cara-cara yang mungkin dilakukan untuk mengatasinya di Sudan. Kajian ini seterusnya mencadangkan supaya akhbar Sudan perlu diperkukuh lagi, manakala undang-undang pemilikan perlu diperbaiki untuk melindungi wartawan yang menyiasat kes rasuah di Sudan

Kata kunci: Kerangka akhbar, Peranan jagawan, Akhbar Sudan, Hak milik akhbar, Penetapan agenda.

Abstract

In spite of decades of political challenges, there is little data available on the state of corruption and newspapers framing in Sudan. Consequently, its widespread has been seriously undermining the fragile Sudanese peacebuilding process. Therefore, the need for a critical examination of the role newspapers played and the perceptions of journalists have become imperative. Hence, the motivation for this study's objective on the Sudanese newspapers' coverage in relation to level of prominence, dominant frames, ownership pattern, challenges facing journalists, extent of the effect and the solutions to problems faced by journalists. The study explored the issue through the propositions of agenda setting and news framing theories within a mixed methods design in order to systematically provide a new approach and provide a deep understanding of how the press in Sudan can address the issues of financial corruption. For collection of data, content analysis of four major newspapers in Sudan were applied, while in-depth interviews with 20 Sudanese journalists selected across both government and private newspapers were descriptively and thematically analyzed with SPSS and NVivo 8 software. The analysis was carried out in stages of coding. The findings discovered that the Sudanese press faced many obstacles that prevent its journalistic performance. Notwithstanding these, prominence was given high attention while responsibility frame was dominant. The findings showed that there is high level of ownership influence which restricted freedom of the media. Also, there are variations in the four newspapers in terms of the five frames. The major challenges are information concealment, lack of investigative training and imposition of taxes and the weak regulations that govern the ownership of various media. Therefore, the study has significantly contributed to the overall perspectives of how newspapers framing affects public awareness about corruption and possible remedies in Sudan. Also, how the external factor, such as ownership, access to the government's information, censorship and restrictive laws, influence the content of the newspaper. Consequently, this study is suggesting that Sudanese newspapers be reinforced, while the Law of proprietorship need to improve on the protection of journalists who investigate corruption in Sudan.

Keyword: Newspaper framing, Watchdog role, Sudanese newspaper, Newspaper ownership, Agenda setting.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to **the almighty Allah**, the most beneficent, the most merciful
for His benevolence and mercies towards me and my family,

and to

My parents, for their sacrifices, support, love and prayers.



Acknowledgement

First praise is to Allah, the Almighty, on whom finally, we all depend for sustenance and guidance, for endowing me with good health, endurance, and knowledge to complete this programme.

I acknowledge, with deep gratitude and appreciation, the inspiration, encouragement, supports, valuable time, mentoring and guidance given to me by my supervisor Associate Professor Dr. Rosli bin Mohammed. Also, I am deeply indebted and grateful to Dr Mohd. Khairie Ahmad, my co-supervisor, for his extensive guidance, continuous support.



UUM
Universiti Utara Malaysia

Table of Contents

Certification of Thesis.....	Error! Bookmark not defined.
Permission to Use.....	ii
Abstrak	iii
Abstract	iv
Dedication	v
Acknowledgement.....	vi
Table of Contents	vii
List of Tables.....	xii
List of Figures	xiii
List of Appendices	xiv
List of Abbreviations.....	xv
CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 An Overview	1
1.2 Background to the Study.....	3
1.3 Problem Statement	6
1.4 Research Questions	12
1.5 Research Objectives	13
1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Research	14
1.7 Significance of the Study	15
1.7.1 Theoretical Contributions	16
1.7.2 Methodological Contribution.....	17
1.7.1 Practical Contributions.....	18
1.8 Conceptual and Operational Definition	18
1.8.2 Ownership pattern	19
1.8.3 Access to government information	19
1.8.4 Newspaper framing	20
1.8.5 The level of prominence	20
1.9 Chapter Summary.....	20

CHAPTER TWO LITERATURE REVIEW	21
2.1 Introduction.....	21
2.2 The History of Newspaper in Sudan	21
2.3 An Overview of International Corruption Cases	22
2.4 The challenge of governance in South Sudan	24
2.4 Issues of Corruption and Media Reporting in Sudan.....	26
2.4 Newspaper Ownership	32
2.5 Access to Government Information	39
2.6 News Framing in the Middle East.....	47
2.7 Challenges Facing Journalism in Sudan	51
2.7.1 Censorship.....	51
2.7.2 Restrictive Laws.....	54
2.7.3 The Economic Dimension.....	58
2.7.4 Press Freedom and Corruption.....	60
2.8 Agenda setting and framing theory.....	75
2.8.1 Agenda Setting Theory	75
2.8.2 Framing Theory	80
2.8.2.1 Definition and Overview of Framing	82
2.8.2.2 The Importance of Media Framing.....	84
2.8.2.3 Framing Process	86
2.9 Research Framework.....	90
2.10 Chapter Summary.....	91
CHAPTER THREE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	92
3.1 Introduction.....	92
3.1 Research Design.....	92
3.2 Definition and Rationale for adopting Mixed Method Approach.....	93
3.3 Quantitative data collection method: Quantitative Content Analysis	94
3.3.1 Content analysis concept and definition	94
3.3.2 Quantitative Content Analysis	95
3.3.3 Population and sampling.....	96
3.3.4 Time Period for the Study.....	98

3.3.5 Measurement of Dominant Frames.....	98
3.3.6 Measurement of prominence.....	102
3.3.7 Justifications for the measurement of the Level of Prominence.....	103
3.3.8 Unit of analysis	105
3.3.9 Coding Categories.....	105
3.3.10 Inter- coder Reliability	106
3.3.11 Data Analysis	107
3.4 Qualitative data collection method: In-depth Interview.....	108
3.4.1 Rationale for Qualitative Research	108
3.4.3 Research Preparation Process	109
3.4.4 Sample design	110
3.4.5 Data collection	111
3.4.6 Data analysis	112
3.4.7 Ethical consideration.....	114
3.4.8 Interviews protocol/ Interview questions.....	114
3.5 Chapter Summary.....	115
CHAPTER FOUR FINDINGS	117
4.1 Introduction.....	117
4.2 Overview of the Content Analyses Process	117
4.3 Content analysis findings	118
4.3.1 Identification of the Level of Prominence in the Sudanese Newspapers.....	118
4.3.2 Identification of Dominant Frames in the Sudanese Newspapers	119
4.3.3 Dominant Indicators of Frames in Sudanese Newspapers.....	121
4.3.4 Dominant Indicator in Sudanese Newspapers Framing.....	123
4.3.4.1 Dominant Indicator in Responsibility Framing in Sudanese Newspapers	125
4.3.4.2 Dominant Indicator in Economic Framing in Sudanese Newspapers..	125
4.3.4.3 Dominant Indicator in Morality Framing in Sudanese Newspapers....	126
4.3.5 Identification of the level of the prominence in Sudanese Newspapers	126
4.3.5.1 Space Allotted to Issues of Corruption in Sudanese Newspapers	127
4.3.5.2 Placement of the Stories in Sudanese Newspapers.....	128

4.3.6 Discussion of content analysis findings	129
4.3.6.1 The level of prominence given to issues of corruption in the Sudanese newspapers.....	129
4.3.6.2 The dominant frames used to cover the issues of corruption in Sudanese newspapers.....	130
4.4 QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS	131
4.4.1 Introduction in depth interview	131
4.4.2 Theme One: Ownership Influence on Corruption.....	134
4.4.2.1 Stakeholders' Influence.....	135
4.4.2.1a Advertiser and Economic Interests	138
4.4.2.1b Government Threat	140
4.4.2.1 c Government Ownership Problem.....	142
4.4.2.1 d Private Ownership Problem	144
4.4.2.2 Access to Government Information	145
4.4.2.2a Government Control.....	147
4.4.2.2b Problem of Data Storage	154
4.4.3 Theme Two: Challenges in Reporting Corruption.....	155
4.4.3a Information Withholding	156
4.4.3 b Lack of Investigative Training.....	157
4.4.3 c Imposing Taxes	161
4.5.1 Theme Three: Environment Influence on Corruption.....	163
4.5.1 a the state of media practitioners' transportation and facilities	165
4.5.1 b Security Threat.....	167
4.5.1 c Economic Pressure	168
4.5.1 d Political Pressure.....	174
4.5.2 Theme Four: Solutions for Corruption Reporting.....	174
4.5.2 a Adequate Training.....	176
4.5.2 b Collaborative Effort among Journalists	177
4.5.2 c Legislation and Press Freedom	177
4.5.2 d Media institutions merging	180
4.5.2 e Using Digital Technology	181

4.6 Chapter Summary.....	183
5.1 Introduction.....	184
5.2 Discussion of Findings.....	185
5.2.1 Ownership Pattern and Access to Government Information Influence on Sudanese Newspapers' Coverage of Corruption in Sudan	185
5.2.2 Challenges Facing Journalists, and the Solutions to the Challenges in Reporting Corruption in Sudan.....	193
5.2.3 Solutions towards the Challenges in Reporting Corruption in Sudan	194
5.2.4 Extent of the Effect of Environment and Economic Dimension on Newspapers when they Report the Issues of Corruption in Sudan.....	201
5.3 Discussion of Findings of study two.....	Error! Bookmark not defined.
5.3.1 Developing the Style of Newspaper Ownership in Sudan.....	195
5.3.2 Enforcement of Press Law Publications and Activating Laws on Press Freedoms.....	196
5.3.3 Implementation of Freedom of Information and Access to Government's Information for Transparency, Accountability and Efficiency.....	198
5.3.4 Removing Barriers and Challenges facing journalists.....	199
5.3.5 Online News and Political Participation in Sudan	200
5.4 Recommendation for Further Research	202
5.5 Contribution to the Study	202
5.5.1 Theoretical Contribution.....	203
5.5.2 Methodological Contribution.....	205
5.5.3 Practical Contributions.....	205
5.6 Limitation of the Research	208
5.7 Conclusion	209
REFERENCES.....	211

List of Tables

Table 3.1 Profile of Selected Newspapers	97
Table 3.2 Framing Items	101
Table 3.2 Continued	102
Table 4.1 Frequency of Frames Counts by Newspapers and Months.....	119
Table 4.2 Frequency of Dominant Frames by Newspapers	120
Table 4.3 Dominant indicators in terms of newspaper framing of corruption issues in the selected newspapers.	123
Table 4.4 Allocated space for issues of corruption in each of the selected newspaper	
127	
Table 4.5 Placement of the Stories.....	128



List of Figures

Figure 2.1. An integrated process model of framing (De Vreese, 2012).....	89
Figure 2.2. Research framework	91
Figure 4.1. The emerged themes, sub-themes and sub sub-themes on newspapers framing of corruption in Sudan.....	133
Figure 4.2. Ownership influence on corruption on with its secondary themes and subthemes.....	135
Figure 4.3. Categories of stakeholder's influence that emerged.....	138
Figure 4.4. Access to Government Information.....	146
Figure 4.5. Challenges in Reporting Corruption.....	156
Figure 4.6. Environment Influence on Corruption.....	165
Figure 4.7 Solutions for the development of press industry	175

List of Appendices

Appendix A Coding Book.....	228
Appendix B Coding Sheet.....	236
Appendix C Informed Consent for Participation	239
Appendix D Interview Guide	240



List of Abbreviations

PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
USA	United States of America
NCPP	National Council for Press & Journalistic publications



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 An Overview

Corruption lies at the core of poor governance and accountability (Arya & Sharma, 2014). It hinders budget balance, efficient governance of expenditure and management of the budgetary functions as well as overall delivery of public goods and services (Lawal, 2007). In addition, corruption undermines social values as individuals become more at ease with corrupt practices since they see such as easier means of survival and more lucrative means of wealth acquisition compared with the legitimate means (Lawal, 2007). Corruption has become one of the major problems facing the third world countries (Abu & Karim, 2015), including but not limited to Sudan. Despite the presence of oil and other mineral resources in many African countries such as Angola, Chad, the democratic Republic of Congo, Nigeria and Sudan, the economic situations in these countries are catastrophic suggesting that, these mineral resources do not have any significant impact on peoples' lives (Khan, 2007).

A typical case of where corruption is prevailing is Sudan. In spite of the rapid growth of oil sector among several other sources of national wealth, Sudan is still classified amongst the world's top most corrupted countries (El-Nafabi, 2010; Fombad & Fombad, 2015; IndexEconomicFreedom, 2016; TransparencyInternational, 2016; WorldBank, 2016). Meanwhile, the Sudanese media and journalists have had little or no impact in abating the issues of corruption in Sudan. It was reported by the Media in Cooperation and Transition (2012) that the Sudanese journalism functions within a complex web of party politics and government insubordination. More often than not,

journalistic practices such as investigative journalism, features stories and news report with regards to the issues of corruption appear less in newspapers due to the constraints mounted by politicians on media houses. Furthermore, it has also been noticed that, due to the predominant zero tolerance and excessive restriction on journalism in Sudan, journalists have no option than to succumb by remaining silent or to distort press reports about the issues of corruption in Sudan. These constraints and challenges have subsequently hindered the role of Sudanese journalism in triggering political will require to fight corruption.

In view of these hindrances, this study set out to examine the framing of the issues of financial corruption in selected Sudanese newspapers. As such, this study seeks to identify the dominant frames used in the framing of issues of corruption in Sudanese newspapers. Also, the study explores the challenges faced by journalists in reporting financial corruption issues in newspapers. Therefore, a quantitative content analysis of Sudanese newspapers and a qualitative approach, using in-depth interviews were employed in this study. Thus, the research method helps the researcher to explore how the newspapers in Sudan have been reporting financial corruption issues in Sudan.

This chapter provides the background to the present study. It states the study's problem statement, research questions and objectives as well as the scope and significance of the study. Conceptual and operational definitions as well as the research framework of the study are also contained in this chapter.

1.2 Background to the Study

There is no doubt that, the media is the heartbeat of any society. The primary responsibilities of the media and the press are to reflect and report what is going on in the society. Furthermore, the media also serve as the means of connecting individuals, government and the world at large (Bojanic & Madsen, 2014). From economic, financial, political, health, social to judicial issues, mass media have played a strategic role in shaping the realities. In relation to this, the truth about mass media shaping of realities is entrenched in the framing theory. Corroborating this, Tankard (2008) noted that framing theorists propounded that, media audiences accept media framing without noticing it.

Though, in practice, journalists and media personnel such as editorial staff are trained to search and present their readers with timely news and information through a rhetoric that will arouse their interest to know more, and create a sensation for a little bit of time (Muzzatti & Featherstone, 2007). As such, in spite of these critical functions of newspapers and media personnel, there have been far little studies about the way the press particularly, newspapers report the issues of financial corruption in Sudan.

Corruption is a global threat to state efficiency which is common to both developed and developing countries alike (Delavallade, 2006; Fombad & Fombad, 2015). However, corruption is more evident in developing countries and its ravaging effects are particularly felt in Africa, which unfortunately has earned the status of the most corrupt continent of the world (Fombad & Fombad, 2015; Lawal, 2007). Africans have been the most contented set of people for all types of corruption raging from bribery, nepotism and misappropriation fiscal recourses (Abu & Karim, 2015; Saidu & Ahmad

Zakuan, 2016). Among these different shades of corruption, financial corruption is more dominant in Sudan. This, according to US Department of State (2016), Sudan is ranked high in the list of most corrupt nation in the world. Specifically, Sudan is placed as the 177th out of 183 countries, scoring 1.6 on a 10-point scale of highly corrupt nations in the globe. Sudan as a country also scored less than 10 on a 100-point scale of the 2010 World Bank's worldwide governance indicators showing a poor performance in the area of governance and financial management. Similarly, reports presented by the Transformation Index (2016) confirmed that Sudan has failed to confront corruption owing to its weak administration, lack of political will and the blurred distinction between the state and the ruling party.

The opinions of the Sudanese citizens corroborated the available statistics on the level of corruption in Sudan. For instance, a citizens' survey conducted in 2011 by the Global Corruption Barometer revealed that 67% of the Sudanese respondents believed that there was a rising increase in corruption in Sudan during the last three years prior to the survey. Another survey conducted by Freedom House (2015) revealed that, Sudan is classified by Sudanese among most corrupt countries in the world.

In view of this, as corruption remains a major concern in Sudan till present, the mass media, journalists and media personnel have critical roles to play in curbing the negative effect of the menace on the socio-economic development of Sudan. Therefore, the role of media and media personnel in curbing financial corruption in Sudan is particularly imperative though, studies have identified suppression of press freedom which reduces citizens' rights to information as some of the major reasons why corruption persist in Sudan (Arya & Sharma, 2014; Bojanic & Madsen, 2014;

Riak, 2013). This goes further to show that, framing of news reports with regards to issues of financial corruption in the media can help in abating issues of financial corruption through creation awareness among Sudanese which can consequently triggers certain pressure on the government (Muzzatti & Featherstone, 2007). Furthermore, when the Sudanese media pay more attention on issues of financial corruption, provide frequent media coverage to the issues that are related to misappropriation of public funds and employ crime lexicon as understood by people in framing the rhetoric of corruption report, it will be difficult for the government to divert the attention of the Sudanese people away from their financial shenanigans and economic mismanagements (Muzzatti & Featherstone, 2007).

Additionally, it has been noted that the news published by newspapers are not just reports but established wisdoms which are potentially used to create social images and shape people's perceptions on corruption issues (Fadairo, Fadairo, & Aminu, 2014). The importance of media coverage of corruption issues has been elaborated mostly in the developed western countries. A case in point was the extensive media coverage of corruption scandals in Italy and Germany which involved high-ranking politicians (Heidenheimer, 2000; Lashmar, 2001) and resulted in the reexamination of the legitimacy of the political parties and the political system. Furthermore, the media and civil society activist groups have been identified as the two very important weapons to fight the scourge of corruption worldwide however, the media is considered the strongest force in shaping public opinion on issues (Fadairo et al., 2014).

The Transparency International which serve as the watchdog for corruption globally also reported that a free and independent media is one of the principal vehicles for

informing the public about corrupt activity (AFRICAW, 2012). The role of media in curbing the negative effect of corruption in Sudan is arguably low and unnoticed. A review of the historical reports of the emergence of media and press from the pre-colonial to the post-colonial era in Sudan revealed that, there is a limited level of freedom of press in Sudan. Journalists and newspapers performance in Sudan are affected by the fact that, majority of newspapers are owned by strong politicians. The influences of media ownership are obvious in the partisan editorial policies of newspapers in Sudan (MICT, 2012).

Beyond ownership pattern, access to governmental information are also popular in the literature among the issues that are hindering the performance and the coverage of corruption issues in the Sudanese media. In view of these issues, this study investigated the coverage and framing of issues of corruption in newspapers in Sudan. Furthermore, this study is interested in exploring the challenges faced by editorial staffs in covering the issues of financial corruption in Sudan.

1.3 Problem Statement

The importance and contribution of the media to the success of democracy in today's world has been acknowledged (Besley & Burgess, 2002; Dunaway, 2008; Lippmann, 1922). Similarly, in the fight against corruption Sowunmi, Raufu, Oketokun, Salako, and Usifoh (2010) noted that media is significant and very central. Corroborating this perspective, Odugbemi and Norris (2010) established that media can contribute meaningfully to fight corruption as well as promote good governance. However, the rate of financial corruption in Sudan has been alarming for quite sometimes now, to the extent that the international community identifies Sudan as an extremely corrupt

country. Similarly, all available statistics and reports revealed the persistent and widespread corruptions especially in relation to financial mismanagements and embezzlements of public funds (Martini, 2012). Unfortunately, in spite of the endemic financial corruption in Sudan, the involvement of the Sudanese media and journalists have been unnoticed. Therefore, one of the critical gaps that this present study aimed to fill is to explore to know the reasons and the challenges that are hindering the involvements of journalists and media reports in the issues of financial corruption in Sudan.

Corroborating this gap, Freedom house (2015) reveals that Sudan is classified as the "worst of worst" among the worst 12 countries in lacking political and civil rights as well as in the aspect of freedom of press. As such, newspapers in Sudan have experienced huge financial losses in the form of low advertisements, frequent confiscations of printed issues of the newspapers from the press and also unstable work environment for journalists who are not paid for months (Doha Center, 2013). Evidence of this showed up in June 2012 when the Sudanese media reported widely the antigovernment protests and in response, the Sudanese government raised new taxes on all printing-related expenses, which proved another financial blow to the news and media houses.

Similarly, there have been several instances where private newspaper offices have been raided by security officers (Freedom House, 2010). Several papers have been closed down and journalists arrested for reporting on public sector corruption. In January 2012, for instance, two independent and opposition newspapers, *Alwan* and

Rai al-Shaab, have been closed by security forces without explanation (Reporters without Borders, 2012).

Already, Stapenhurst (2000) opined that media's effectiveness depends so much on their access to information, freedom of expression, professionalism and investigative journalism. Furthermore, freedom of press contributes to improved accountability, good governance and desired economic development (FreedomHouse, 2015). However, one of the major challenges faced by journalists and media houses in Sudan is lack of freedom of expression. Some white papers such as the one published by the International Media Support on the scenarios of media practices in Sudan revealed that, Sudanese media houses are at risk of closure when reports that do not pay homage to the government are published (International Media Support, 2007). More importantly, a report published by Reporters without Borders bemoaned that, editors deceased from publishing controversial stories in Sudan because of the fear of getting punished.

In addition to the problem of freedom of journalists, media ownership and lack of legal protection for journalist are other critical concerns for journalists in reporting corruption issues in Sudan (Stapenhurst, 2000). Meanwhile, it is quite ironic that, the government which is responsible for clamping down the freedom of journalism in Sudan is as well the most benefactor of the media especially in terms of space and air time purchase. Invariably, the media gets their largest number of advertisements from government agencies and media houses in Sudan reward the government by ignoring any investigative journalism on the issues that could affect the government negatively (Gentzkow, Glaeser, & Goldin, 2006). This suggests why the coverage of issues of

corruption in relation to Sudan in local and national newspapers has not received adequate attention (Spilker, 2012).

Furthermore, control of information access is another critical factor to journalism independence. In Sudan, the sources of information that the media depend upon are often under the control of the ruling elite (Muzzatti & Featherstone, 2007). Access to government information in Sudan is limited and this hinders the press in performing their watchdog functions over the government, it also limits its social role as an important source of information or to raise the public awareness of corruption issues (FreedomHouse, 2015; Spilker, 2012). Journalists who are empowered to expose government misdeeds have been under intense pressure with closure of press houses and increased detention of reporters by security forces (The Guardian, 30 June 2015). In view of these challenges and other factors that are seemingly precluding the involvement of media practitioners and that are encouraging media bias in carrying out their duties especially with regards to reporting corruption issues have not really received much attention from researchers (Tella & Franceschelli, 2011).

More so, Previous studies have also demonstrated that, there are factors such as; lack of journalism freedom (Ahrend, 2002; Becker, Naab, English, & Vlad, 2013; Brunetti & Weder, 2003; Fardigh, 2007; McConnell & Becker, 2002; Sani, 2014; Sowunmi et al., 2010) and governmental funding (Tella & Franceschelli, 2011). This, according to Motlhasedi and Phiri (2015) can meddle with ethical journalistic practices and motives to cover corruption scandals. Therefore, this study attempts to explore the relationship between the challenges facing newspaper houses, ranging from control of the media through restricted laws, censorship, the ownership of newspapers, financial pressures

on newspapers or journalists and their impact on the amount of press coverage on the issues of financial corruption in Sudan.

Previous studies on media and news framing have convincingly demonstrated that, media framing has a huge effect on the public (Snyder Jr & Strömberg, 2008; Mcleod & Hertog, 2009). Framing components affect the readership and their understanding of reality (Scharrer, 2002), because media frames are strategically designed to achieve a desired result (Scharrer, 2002); Wolfsfeld & Sheafer, 2006). This is because, journalists and news reporters have the skill to frame and reframe events in such a way that will influence readers to stick to the topic and keep it in the spotlight (Chyi & McCombs, 2004). This therefore, suggests why studies have continuously paid serious attention to framing as a means for studying media role and responsibilities (Muzzatti & Featherstone, 2007; Yan & Liu, 2016). However, the role of newspaper framing on corruption issues has not received much attention (Fadairo et al., 2014). Therefore, this study aims to identify the dominant frames used to cover the issues of corruption in Sudanese newspapers.

It has been argued severally that, the fight against corruption are fought on several fronts which include; institutional reform, legislation and the media (Arnold & Lal, 2012). Media, particularly newspapers, is important in fighting corruption because of their sheer role as watchdogs, agenda setters, and gatekeepers. Newspapers pursue these responsibilities through framing of the discussion about corruption and offering coverage to the issues of corruption. In general, through media framing, the media holds the power of influencing norms and cultures, which in turn can influence policy-making and legislative reform and finally governance. Furthermore, Delfin and Garcia

(2016) argued that, the media help people to determine “prime issue” from the dozens of ongoing issues. For instance, Yan and Liu (2016) reported how the national Chinese media assisted in the conviction of Chen Liangyu; a high-ranked government officer in the court of law through the coverage of his shenanigan in media reports. However, it has been perceived that, the print media in Sudan are not playing a committed role in making the issues of financial corruption a “prime issue” in order to mount considerable pressure on the government. This study is additionally interested in exploring the type of frames that are used by Sudanese media as well as the level of coverage devoted to financial corruption issues in the country.

Similarly, it has been established that newspapers seems to have the power to control people’s opinion on what issues should be deemed important and shape their views about the world around them through the framing of news coverage accordingly (Jan et al., 2013). The consideration of newspaper organizations on issues to be covered and which to be ignored is an explicit aspect of framing which is sometimes referred as news coverage. However, the implicit aspect of framing is the prominence of the issues in newspaper publication. It has been justified by previous studies such as Delfin and Garcia (2016) that, the allocation of size and placement of stories determine the prominence of issues in the publication of print media. In addition to that, Saqib (2008) also argued that the way the audience perceive certain news issue is shaped and refined in the way journalists placed the news stories in their papers. In view of this, it is currently hard to tell if the issues of financial corruption have any prominence in the publications of prominent newspapers in Sudan. Therefore, this current study is determined to equally examine the allocation of size and placements as a method of

determining the prominence of issues of financial corruption among newspapers in Sudan.

Another basic gap that this study is set for is to explore and examine based on the propositions of Agenda setting theory and Framing theory, how the external factor, such as ownership, access to the government's information, censorship and restrictive laws, influence the content of the Sudanese newspapers.

In view of the gaps and challenges highlighted above, this study explores the level of newspaper framing and the challenges faced by journalists and media houses in reporting the issues of financial corruption in Sudan. This study was underpinned by framing theory in order to examine the arguments on the impacts of framing theory in relation to reporting and abating corruption. The study explored the issue through the propositions of agenda setting and news framing theories. Based on these, the following section presents the questions that are answered in this research.

1.4 Research Questions

In view of the problems and issues highlighted above, this study has two sets of research questions which are relevant to the broad objectives of this study. The specific research questions are presented as follows:

- 1.4.1 What is the level of the prominence and the dominant frames that emerged in Sudanese newspapers regarding the issues of financial corruption in Sudan?

- 1.4.2 How do ownership pattern and access to government information affect Sudanese newspapers' coverage of financial corruption in Sudan?
- 1.4.3 What are the challenges facing journalists, and the solutions to the challenges in reporting financial corruption in Sudan?
- 1.4.4 To what extent does the working environment and economic dimension affect the newspapers when they report the issues of financial corruption in Sudan?

1.5 Research Objectives

The following research objectives are set to attend to the highlighted gaps and to provide answers to the research questions.

- 1.5.1 To identify the level of prominence and the dominant frames that emerged in Sudanese newspapers regarding the issues of financial corruption in Sudan.
- 1.5.2 To examine how ownership pattern and access to government information affect Sudanese newspapers' coverage of corruption in Sudan.
- 1.5.3 To identify the challenges facing journalists, and the solutions to the challenges in reporting corruption in Sudan.

- 1.5.4 To examine the extent of the effect of environment and economic dimension on newspapers when they report the issues of corruption in Sudan.

1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Research

The main scope of this study is to determine the types of framing, level of coverage and prominence of the issues of financial corruption in the Sudanese newspapers. Also, this study aims at determining the challenges ranging from ownership pattern, access to information and economic structures affecting journalists and media houses in reporting financial corruption issues in Sudan. To achieve the highlighted scope, the study adopted two methods of data collection namely; quantitative content analysis and qualitative in- depth interview. The first method is quantitative content analysis while qualitative in-depth interview is used to complement the study.

The quantitative content analysis aspect of this study focused on national newspapers in Sudan which were; Alder, Al Intibaha, Assayha and Sudan vision. These newspapers were selected because they are prominent and well known among Sudanese people. The scope of the newspaper's coverage is limited to the period of April 2014 to April 2015. In addition, the qualitative in-depth interview among the editors of the listed newspapers.

The focus of this study is premised on the notion presented by Gan, Leng, and Detenber (2005) that, the objectivity of media frames can be used to study the role of media on public issues and opinions. Hence, this study explored the concept of framing as an instrument to establish an understanding of news on corruption in Sudan as a social construction and social resource in fighting corruption in Sudan.

To achieve this, the study employed the approach of Tankard (2008) to examine different types of frame, coverage and level of prominence that are allocated to corruption issues in selected newspapers in Sudan. In relation to that, Weaver (2007) acknowledged that frames can be studied by means of systematic content analysis or interpretive textual analysis. Similarly, Van Gorp (2007) noted that some researchers choose a rather qualitative approach in analyzing media frames, such as discourse analysis, while others apply traditional content analysis or other quantitative methods. He contended that the theoretical nature of frames implies that quantitative research methods should be combined with the interpretive prospects of qualitative methods. Therefore, news articles are studied with regards to news stories, headlines and kickers, subheads, photographs, photo captions, leads, etc. In specific, this study employed the three major dimensions of framing according to Wong (2004) namely:

- A) Presentation of news items (dominance, size and placement of news on corruption);
- B) News topic items (or what issues such as corruption are included in the frame);
- C) Cognitive attributes (or the specific details of about corruption included).

1.7 Significance of the Study

The study is important theoretically to the body of knowledge and research community. Practically, this study is also significant by offering important insights to understanding the role of the media as watchdogs against mismanagement of public funds by the governments in Sudan. Finally, this study also has important methodological significance which are particularly relevant with regards to the approaches employed to collect data in this study. The specific significance of this

study in terms of theoretical, practical and methodological significances are discussed in the following sections.

1.7.1 Theoretical Contributions

This study applied the framing theory to examine the newspapers framing of the issues of corruption in Sudan. Furthermore, the integration of information obtained from the present study and the existing literature on the Sudanese newspaper coverage of issues of corruption in Sudan provided a useful theoretical contribution and applied knowledge on newspaper reporting. This study is significant to knowledge because it provides support to the framing theory by indicating the roles and responsibilities of press organizations in influencing social and public issues such as the issue of financial corruption in Sudan.

Following the theoretical perspectives of the framing theory, every story has an angle, or what reporters often call a “story focus” or “story commitment” (Shook, 2000). In essence, this study reports the different types of frames, level of coverage and the prominence of media coverage on the issues of financial corruption in Sudanese newspapers. Therefore, the findings of this study highlighted how the mass media in Sudan are reflecting and projecting media issues which by extension reveal the important contribution of media in shaping and priming issues in the minds of audiences.

Additionally, this study adds specifically to the understanding of newspaper coverage of corruption in Sudan and how that coverage helps create a sense of predictability on corruption issues. Most importantly, the focus of the study provides a unique

opportunity to examine the nature of news reporting and political communication, and to further extend the growing body of literature on framing research. In addition to the differences between newspapers, the study uncovers the differences in framing of issues of corruption in Sudanese newspapers over time. This is a significant contribution going by perspectives of Hanson (1995), Scheufele (1999) that framing is a self-reinforcing process, that within a newspaper, frames are not expected to change unless some unforeseen external stimulus upsets the routine. In this regard, the examination of ownership influence on the newspaper coverage of corruption sets the record straight and establish the extent of framing as a self-reinforcing process.

1.7.2 Methodological Contribution

The longitudinal approach employed in this study has contributed to some insights of the methodology used in media and communication research. Also, this study contributes to knowledge by filling a methodological gap in the study of media framing in relation to the issues of corruption in Sudan. It additionally contributes to the enhancement of methodological approach employed among previous studies through the link to some aspects of perceived realities such as the ownership pattern and access to government information. Similarly, the effect of environment and economic dimension on newspapers when they report the issues of corruption in Sudan and strategic method of studying the problems facing journalists in reporting corruption in Sudan.

Another methodological contribution of this study is the adoption of mixed method approach in this research. In order to thoroughly examine the issues surrounding the challenges of corruption and the role of newspapers, the application of both quantitative and qualitative approaches is required. This is in line with Van Gorp

(2007) that indicated strong theoretical nature of frames which should apply quantitative research methods combined with the interpretive prospects of qualitative methods.

1.7.3 Practical Contributions

This study explores how far the press or media in Sudan are capable of addressing anti-corruption issues in the country. Though Sudan has a large number of local and national newspapers, still not enough attention has been paid to issues of corruption. Previous studies have focused on the role of media to curb corruption (Sowunmi, Raufu, Oketokun, Salako, & Usifoh, 2010; Stapenhurst, 2000), or relationship between press freedom and corruption (Ahrend, 2002; Becker, Naab, English, & Vlad, 2013; Brunetti & Weder, 2003; Fardigh, 2007; McConnell & Becker, 2002; Sani, 2014; Sowunmi et al., 2010). Meanwhile other previous studies focused on government advertising and its relationship with media coverage of corruption scandals (Tella & Franceschelli, 2009) while (Motlhasedi & Phiri, 2015), focused on the impact of mass media on corruption in South Africa. A few previous studies focused on newspapers framing of issues of corruption. Therefore, this study shift attention to how Sudanese newspapers framed the news on corruption issues in Sudan when covering such issues.

1.8 Conceptual and Operational Definition

A conceptual definition is a vital component of any scientific research process. This is especially important for a content analysis-based study. In this research, there are five main elements, namely incidents of corruption in Sudan, the level of prominence, ownership pattern, access to government information, framing of corruption issues.

1.8.1 Corruption

Corruption is an act of misuse of public office for private gain. Therefore according to (Svensson, 2005) corruption would include such acts that can be categorized as legal breach in many ways e.g. sale of government assets by its own officials; embezzlement of government funds; accepting kickbacks or bribes and the likes. The term corruption originally meant, the process by which a well-functioning system of government decays into one that fails to deliver and maltreats its citizens (Glaeser & Goldin, 2007).

In this study, the incidents of corruption mean, financial corruption or the misappropriation of government funds and resources. This study focuses on the government public money because of easy accessibility to information on misappropriation of government money. Also, the public money influences the whole nation; it affects their progress and life.

1.8.2 Ownership pattern

Ownership pattern is used in the context of a proprietor owning a newspaper. The ownership of a newspaper may be controlling or owning the newspaper directly or indirectly, as a sole owner of its subsidiary, or owner of one or more newspapers (Uslegal, 2016).

1.8.3 Access to government information

Access to information stands for the system that allows availability of information to citizens and common people (Burnett, Jaeger, & Thompson, 2008). This information system is according to Burnett (2005), a combination of intellectual, physical and social components.

1.8.4 Newspaper framing

Newspaper framing is a kind of framework found in media discourse, which can potentially influence the information process. For instance, if a journalist frames certain discourse, it leads to a corresponding media frame (B. Scheufele, 2004).

1.8.5 The level of prominence

The levels of prominence in this study are defined as follow;

1. The length of the news article on the coverage of the issues of corruption
(Wider length means high prominence)
2. The position or place of the news articles (e.g. front page and back page means high prominence).

1.9 Chapter Summary

The chapter discusses the issues of Press Freedom and Sudanese Newspapers coverage of the issues of corruption in Sudan. This chapter provides the background to the present study. It states the study's problem statement, research questions and objectives, conceptual and operational definition, conceptual framework and research framework as well as the scope and significance of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the literature review of the topic under study. It specifically surveys the past research on the freedom of the press and other relevant areas, such as a brief history of Sudanese newspapers, the censorship of the newspapers, the restrictive laws, newspapers ownership, the economic dimension, the access to information and corruption. The chapter also explore Agenda Setting and Framing theory that explain the framework for the study. It therefore ends with a chapter conclusion.

2.2 The History of Newspaper in Sudan

The history of journalism in Africa can be traced back to handwritten news sheets that the government news-writers were required to prepare. These news sheets appeared at regular and frequent time periods. These news sheets were sources of information for the state rulers about their empires. They helped them identify the happenings in the public domain, mishaps in societies and any hardships faced by the people and other related news. Such information also helped the rulers make decisions and ensure good governance. Indeed, this information also proved to be a fine established system of surveillance. It was through the newspapers, rulers were promptly updated of the poor administration and the mismanagement in the social structure. Consequently, brutal and cruel governors were dismissed from the government offices, whereas honest officials were encouraged and rewarded. In short, the early hand-written sheets proved

to be effective social mobilization instrument to hold peace and contentment in the empires.

As for Sudan, the first Sudanese newspaper emerged in the early twentieth century (in September, 1903), whereas the “Sudan Gazette” appeared in 1902 (Salih, 1965). The first popular biweekly newspaper was *Al Sudan* (The Sudan Times) which was established by a Lebanese-Syrian expatriate company. This newspaper served as a means for government news in English and Arabic and was widely read. In 1912, another newspaper called the Sudan Herald with its Arabic edition *Ra'id Al Sudan* (Sudan Pioneer) was published by Greek expatriates, but it was highly monitored by the government and considered a foreign voice. These few newspapers served for a few years for the Sudanese audience. However, as the number of the education of Northern Sudanese increased, there was a need to have their own media platforms in order to reveal their opposition to the British colonialism and show their willingness of unity with Egypt. At the same time, a need arises to demonstrate their resistance against Egypt and call for their country's independence. As a result, in 1919, Sudan's first newspaper, *Hadarat Al Sudan* (Sudan Civilization), or *Al Hadara* in Arabic language, started its publication but limits its content to the intelligentsia or the literary elite readers (Spilker, 2012). Regardless of the types of the newspapers, these can be probably considered as an effective means that are employed in order to achieve specific goals, such as a persistent need for change, educating the public, and reforming the community or the government against abuse of power away from corrupt tendencies.

2.3 An Overview of International Corruption Cases

There is a common agreement among scholars that corruption is a global phenomenon (Adaja, 2016; Moyosore, 2015; Starke, Naab & Scherer, 2016). In the words of

Samson and John (2012), corruption, an ethical and moral problem varies from place to place, time to time, culture to culture and with the level of economic development exists throughout the world; it affects developed, developing and underdeveloped nations of the world.

In recent years there have been significant increases in the attention paid to corruption, due to the series of high level of corruption cases in industrialized countries and due to the political and economic changes which many countries are undergoing to which Nigeria is included (Adeyemi, 2013). Thus, it is evidence that there is hardly any society without one form of corruption or the other.

Nigeria particularly has widespread reputation for corruption. In the year 2000 and 2015 it appeared at the top of Transparency International's list of the most corrupt countries, and it continues to be regarded as a bastion of fraud, graft, and deceit (Smith, 2010; Transparency International, 2015). It has been acknowledged that corruption and its practices are both endemic and systemic in both public and private sectors of Nigerian economy (Omenka, 2013). The debilitating effects of corruption on the country are enormous. It affects the routine processes of governance both in public and private sectors, and it pollutes the business environment generally. It also undermines the integrity of government and public institutions.

Corruption in Africa can exist at many different levels. Some would argue that a definition for African corruption is impossible because it is a concept that is culturally determined and varies from one African society to another. For example, gift-giving to officials may be expected in one country and prohibited by law in another (Bamidele, 2013). However, for the purpose of this study, corruption involves the

misuse of power by those who hold it-people who, in their official position, exploit the power with which they are entrusted by seeking private gain (Bamidele, 2013).

The private gain obtained by corrupt public African officials, who have been entrusted with guiding and implementing public policy and service, is at the expense of both the common good and of those who don't "cheat the system" (Bamidele, 2013, p. 42). Therefore, corruption according to Chang (2012, p. 4) originally meant "the process by which a well-functioning system of government decays into one that fails to deliver and maltreats its citizens". Moyosore (2015) affirmed that corruption involves a deviation from the laws and regulations with intent to abuse one's public office and obtain private benefits. That the resources exchanged in corruption result in material advantages, as when a favourable public decision is paid for with money. Corruption is therefore one form of influence of money on politics (Moyosore, 2015).

2.4 The challenge of governance in South Sudan

South Sudan is one of the global's most separated and wobbly countries. Since attaining independence in 2011, South Sudan has leapt into civil war and become the nation of some of the worst human rights abuses on the African continent. According to Roach and Hudson (2018), despite current political disorder, states and international institutions have promised massive resources to stabilize the country and bolster the current peace process, but have had inadequate influence in dealing with the effects of widespread corruption and factionalism. *This study* scrutinizes the factors that continue to haunt peace-building efforts, together with the authority of the SPLM/A, factionalization, corruption, human rights mayhems, an ineffective constitution, and the role of international actors. It brings together a varied set of leading scholars to

reflect on these factors and propose ways of promoting peace and stability in South Sudan (Roach, & Hudson, 2018).

Restating the reasons for the crisis, Deng (2018) pointed to five factors that drive South Sudan's crisis of governance, all of which are decidedly pronounced. In specific, he said the leaders of the SPLM and the National Congress Party (NCP) were accountable for the increase of two main factors: weak institutions and poor economic management. Certainly, the General Secretariat of the SPLM was charged with ineffectiveness with respect to the management of the party's funds. Despite the lack of "credible indications of any financial mismanagement within the SPLM," Deng expressed his concerns to President Salva Kiir, leading to an open debate in the National Legislative Assembly, which unfortunately did not bring about a definitive resolution. Furthermore, the SPLM failed to build robust institutions prior to the independence referendum of 2011, which would have engendered an easier and more comprehensive transition to the two-state model. Deng pointed out that, in fact, weak institutions are in part a result of weak leadership. Both the SPLM and the NCP in Sudan suffer from a lack of legitimacy and a worsening of mutual trust, which has led to a corresponding failure to establish a common military policy. This eventually caused the perilous separation of the South and by extension the current crisis of governance.

In a conflict-affected and newly independent country like South Sudan, reconstructing public sector capacity is an important aspect of state building, both in the short and in the medium to long term. If capacity strengthening is not tracked or is ineffective, government functionality remains irregular and dependency on technical assistants

(TA) remains high. Capacity strengthening has been considered shapeless and a difficult topic in academic literature. This study looks at the experience of efforts to strengthen capacity in South Sudan over the decade from 2005 to 2016. The context has proved challenging for capacity-building efforts. On the one hand, some improvements have been seen and some skilled civil servants are in place. On the other hand, wider progress has been difficult and punctuated by crises and setbacks. Renewed conflicts from December 2013 to August 2015, and again (World Bank, 2017).

2.4 Issues of Corruption and Media Reporting in Sudan

Corruption is a global threat that draws back the development of nations due to its ravaging effects. Corruption can appear in several domains or sectors. Hence, corruption could be in different aspects, but the most popular type of corruption in governance is the financial corruption that is addressed in this study. The term ‘corruption’ originally means the process by which a well-functioning system of the government fails to deliver the services, thus affecting the citizens negatively (Glaeser & Goldin, 2007). According to Dike (2005), corruption is defined as the efforts to secure wealth or power through illegal means at the expense of the public. Corruption can also imply the misuse of the public power to achieve private benefits for certain people. In this regard, the financial corruption is defined as the misuse of the governments recourses in order to achieve personal gains (Svensson, 2005). This type of corruption can include selling of the government assets, embezzlement of the government funds and accepting kickbacks or bribes. In view of this, Africa is regarded as the most corrupted continent of the world (Fombad & Fombad, 2015; Lawal, 2007). Despite the presence of oil and mineral resources in many African

countries, such as Angola, Chad, the democratic Republic of Congo, Nigeria and Sudan, the situations of the citizens in these countries are negatively complicated (Khan, 2007).

With respect to Sudan specifically, it is one of the terribly corrupt country according to the report from the (USD, 2016). Sudan is ranked 177th out of 183, scoring 1.6 on a 10-point scale of highly corrupt countries. In addition, in the citizen's survey of 2011 Global Corruption Barometer, 67% of Sudanese citizens believed that there was a rise in corruption in Sudan during the last three years prior to the survey. Reports (TransformationIndexBTI, 2016), have also confirmed that Sudan has failed to annihilate corruption owing to its weak administration, lack of political will, and the unclear distinction between the state and the ruling party. For instance, Freedom House (2015) surveyed nations for imparting political and civil rights and freedoms, including freedom of the press, and it classified Sudan as the "worst of worst" among the worst 12 countries of the whole world. Financial corruption, particularly is deeply rooted in the Sudanese governance to the extent that individual politicians have a high bribe rate (Mauro, 2004). Hence, this topic was carefully explored in the study in order to highlight issues related to this phenomenon. However, it is important to know that the resultant widespread corruption leads to further rise in inequality and poor economic performance, and it subsequently leads to collapse of the government (Billion, 2003; Mauro, 2004; Abu & Karim, 2015).

This therefore explains why the majority of research studies are concerned with issues and challenges related to corruption in South Sudan. For instance, Smith (2011) points out a series of impacts of political turmoil, unrest, and civil war on Sudan's national

prestige. He mentions how the challenges of governance and corruption have affected the oil and mineral resource of the rich countries, and Sudan is not an exception. In Sudan, Smith calls state institutions as fragile, with low administrative capacity, ineffective financial control on revenues and expenditures, whereas the state and the ruling party keep their antagonistic relations. Similarly, corruption in police and security forces imposed a further threat to the internal security, thus abusing the civil and political rights of the citizens (USDepartmentofstate, 2016). Lack of transparency is also visible in the oil sector that has resulted in long term political instability between North and South Sudan (USDepartmentofstate, 2016). Consequently, this corruption has negative effects on the life of the citizens and has attracted the interest of the researchers in order to examine the issue of corruption in media, specifically newspapers.

Meanwhile, newspapers contribute largely to the success of the democracy in the world nowadays. newspapers communicate a large database of information, along with their content and analyses, which could be useful source for law makers to legislate laws and policies, and for voters to choose their governments wisely (Besley & Burgess, 2002; Dunaway, 2008; Lippmann, 1922). In addition, newspapers are renowned for playing a crucial role in helping people resist corruption. They can also organize countrywide anti-corruption campaigns in order to educate people about corruption, develop awareness about its causes and suggest suitable solutions. Newspapers can also assist agencies in the investigation of corruption incidents (Sowunmi et al., 2010), popularly known for their watch dog functions. Newspapers thus can contribute usefully to fight corruption and promote a good governance (Odugbemi & Norris, 2010).

Nogara (2009) emphasizes that media coverage can easily turn people's hostile towards corrupted politicians, leading to such consequences in the form of an electoral defeat of a single politician or even crumbling the whole government. Such media coverage can also force people to have pressure on the government to achieve reforms in laws and regulations that are potential causes for the corrupted behaviors. Nogara suggests that media could show stories that not only assess the critical issues but also uncover corruption and other deficiency and weaknesses in public institutions, like courts, police and anti-corruption agencies and develop public pressure for reformation.

Though, Sudan has a large number of local and national newspapers, the issues of corruption have not been investigated thoroughly. The main cause of this ineffectiveness is that all sources of information that the media depend upon are often under the control of the ruling elite (Muzzatti & Featherstone, 2007). Journalists who are empowered to expose government misdeeds have been under intense pressure with closure of press houses and increased detention of reporters by the security forces (The Guardian, 30 June 2015).

Meanwhile, previous research studies show only the relationship between good governance in countries and active media coverage of politics (Ahrend, 2002). Other researchers found a correlation between media coverage and voters' knowledge (Snyder Jr & Strömberg, 2008). Djankov, McLiesh, Nenova, and Shleifer (2001) examine facts about media ownership in 97 countries and reveal that media in these countries are usually owned and controlled by the government or private elite families. As a result, media in these countries enjoy less press freedom and are denied other

privileges. According to these scholars, the adverse effects of government ownership and curtailment of freedom of expression can be seen more prominently on newspapers than televisions. Such conditions thus lead to the inference of the government ownership of the media and can reduce its effectiveness while increasing corruption. There is another aspect of this issue; media content is often shaped and molded to satisfy the economic needs. For example, a news item related to corruption may be designed to inform less and sell more. Stated differently, descriptions and narratives about people's plight and violence are sold faster (Muzzatti & Featherstone, 2007). All these facts indicate that whether the control of media is through the ownership or due to financial pressures obliging media clients' advertisements, media activities and media coverage of critical issues like corruption are always impacted.

In this regard, Stapenhurst (2000) suggest that media should be more accountable and become a free and fearless media. Hence, he advises journalists to work hard in order to build their image in public which is possible only if they demonstrate their freedom, objectivity and professionalism. He also advises the owners of the media to ensure timely payment of journalists' wages in order to motivate them to write more independently and fearlessly on corrupt practices in the society.

Media studies have recently shifted their attention to media frames and coverage of events. In the world of media, it is well known that media frames are designed strategically to achieve the desired result in the game; they help the media personnel regulate themselves to determine which particular players require more devotion and attention (Scharrer, 2002), how to report and narrate the winner or the loser by making the correct choices of rhetoric (Wolfsfeld & Sheafer, 2006), what realities to highlight

and what to ignore (Muzzatti & Featherstone, 2007) in order to give more importance to some and underestimate others. Undoubtedly these framing components affect the readership and their understanding of reality (Scharrer, 2002).

In its life span, any news event is often reframed frequently and occasionally to confirm its various attributes, and also to keep it in the spotlight (Chyi & McCombs, 2004). Frames may change in a topsy-turvy manner, particularly when media investigation is seen favoring constantly one side, making people suspect of the bias. Such a bias takes place when media framing exhibits consistent patterns in their coverage suggesting some influence or the use of government authority (Entman, 2007). Such a biased media framing also consolidates the position of one side, giving it free rein to do anything it wants without any fear of punishment (Entman, 2007).

Another important aspect of media framing is felt when a political scandal takes place and any individual or agency is trying to make an impact to curb or distort it. Doubts are raised to identify whether the media frames are neutral, biased or arbitrary; whether their description of events favor a specific side or they narrate their own version for either side to prove their neutrality. A disclosure on this will greatly help the future media studies determine what “drives” the news (Wolfsfeld & Sheaffer, 2006). Equally significant is partisanship or bias that makes an impact on media reports published on political events. A biased media report presents the political issue only from one angle and ignores and dismisses the opposite views, which is seen as a big hurdle for the media in fulfilling its responsibilities to offer unbiased and reliable information (Votmer, 2010).

Previous studies have focused on the role of media to curb corruption (Sowunmi et al., 2010; Stapenhurst, 2000), or relationship between press freedom and corruption (Ahrend, 2002; Becker et al., 2013; Brunetti & Weder, 2003; Fardigh, 2007; McConnell & Becker, 2002; Sani, 2014; Sowunmi et al., 2010). Other previous studies focused on the government's advertising and its relationship with media coverage of corruption scandals (Tella & Franceschelli, 2009), whereas (Motlhasedi & Phiri, 2015) focused on the impact of mass media on corruption in South Africa.

However, limited studies were done on newspapers framing issues of corruption. Therefore, in this study the focus is on how the Sudanese newspapers frame the news on corruption issues. The present study adopts theories of media framing to examine the coverage of corruption in the Sudanese Press. The focus is on framing in news room and its internal factors. These include issues of editorial policies and news values. The study also examines external factors, such as ownership, legislation and access to government information and economic interests in relation to framing and coverage of the issues of corruption in Sudan. The study also addresses the issue of corruption in Sudan within the context of Sudanese press by investigating how the Sudanese press frames the coverage of issues of corruption in Sudan.

2.5 Newspaper Ownership

It seems that the ownership of the media has an effect on the extent of freedom when dealing with critical issues and aspects related to the freedom of expressing the voice of the public. For example, Djankov, McLiesh, Nenova and Shleifer (2001) examined patterns of media ownership in 97 countries and found that media are generally owned and controlled by either the government or private families. As for media owned by

government, they are usually associated with less press freedom and limited rights. According to these scholars, the adverse effects of the government's ownership and control in terms of political and economic freedom are more dominant for newspapers than television houses. However, the adverse effects of the government's ownership of media are not restricted only to the government's monopoly but also in the private ownership of the media. Hence, privatizing media may have a positive impact in the attainment of the political and economic goals as well as fulfilling the social needs of the poor. In their research, they studied the ownership patterns of media organizations, including radio, TV and newspapers. They also examined the extent of state ownership and private ownership of these media organizations and the impact of their monopoly across nations and media segments.

Since their study focused only on two types of ownership of media houses, the state owned and the privately owned, it reveals a few facts. It shows that the state ownership of newspapers and television is significantly higher in the African and Middle East and North African (MENA) countries. The findings of Djankov, McLiesh, Nenova and Shleifer's (2001) study revealed that five daily newspapers circulation reached 61% of the audience and five televisions stations reached 85% of the audience, whereas it was observed that two-thirds of the African countries have state monopolies on television broadcasting. The study also found that 50% share of total circulation in MENA countries belong to state owned newspapers. In their study, they also examined whether different patterns of media ownership result in different socio-economic and political outcomes. It was found that countries with higher state ownership of the media lack freedom of press, and people enjoy fewer political rights. In addition, there

is inferior governance, less developed markets, and very poor management of issues related to education and health.

Such adverse effects of government ownership are more visible on newspapers than on television. Moreover, the theoretical arguments are in favor of the government's ownership of the media, particularly in industrially advanced nations, but the findings of Djankov, McLiesh, Nenova and Shleifer's (2001) study reject such claim. Their study could not find any evidence of benefits of higher state ownership of the media which further denied it to be a good model of governance. This research however is a huge contribution to the critical domain of media studies pointing the limitations of the welfares approach and the role of state participation in the economy. Also, this study relates market failure with the government failure. Ultimately, this proves that the government's ownership of the media is detrimental to the socio-economic and political outcomes.

Dunaway (2008) in another study, investigated the quality of political news coverage and its implications for the informed voters in making political decisions. The study used original data from the news coverage of rival media houses for the year 2004, and examined the function of ownership structure and market context. The author argued that the quality of the information found in political news is influenced by media ownership and market contexts. This study further exposes the relationship between media organizations and the news content they produce. It also provides an answer to such common arguments raised by politicians and scholars who were debating upon the impact of media ownership on the quality of political news coverage.

However, there was no empirical evidence to support such conclusions, but Dunaway's (2008) study has offered a theoretically coherent answer to the question of whether corporate media ownership and market context influence news coverage in political matters. His study also has a major contribution as it adds to the theoretical domain related to the behavior of media firms. Its findings also prove that the public corporate ownership is negatively related to political election coverage. Finally, these findings are inconsistent with the findings related to the effects in the market context. As for the present study, the focus is on the influence of media ownership on the content of newspaper coverage of the issue of financial corruption in Sudan.

Gehlbach and Sonin (2014) in a recent study draw attention to two closely related dimensions, namely media ownership, either state or private, and media bias, which concerns media's misreporting the news in favor of the government's interests. The study proved that media ownership influences media bias, but media ownership itself is also equally endogenous to the media bias. This dichotomy leads to a fundamental issue related to media content of what happens when media bias reduces the informational content from the news and makes it difficult for people to make decisions (Besley & Prat, 2006). A further impact of media bias is that it reduces media consumption in two ways: first, the media bias lessens the government's propaganda since citizens ignore such biased news and cannot be influenced by it; second, media bias reduces advertising revenue which is a big loss to the government, regardless of whether the media are private or state owned.

Besley and Prat (2006) observed that media bias is greater in autocracies than democracies, and attempted to prove that with the democratization process, the media

bias in both state and privately-owned media reduces. They show how citizens preferred media bias and get mobilized even when it is not individually rational. This theory is built upon two popular models in the political economy. First, it follows a bargaining relationship between a politician and a media institution; an approach pioneered by Shleifer and Vishny (1994). The second model is built upon a large and a comprehensive body of work that attempts to explain the origins of media bias. Such a distinction also often refers to “demand-side” and “supply-side” of media bias.

Besley and Prat (2006) studied the government as a strategic actor and media as an agency to show the political accountability. Their research also serves three distinct purposes. First, it shows media ownership as endogenous; therefore, media freedom is averse to advertising revenue. Second, it presents the government’s role as a “regime type,” showing how media freedom depends on citizens’ preferences. Third, it gives importance to general consequences of the citizens’ actions.

Their study is also closely related to several other studies like Gentzkow and Shapiro (2006) whose model requires citizens to use the information reported by the media but they have to be willing to face the outcome which depends on the conditions in the environment (see Kamenica & Gentzkow, 2011). Similarly, Petrova (2010), in his study which employed a meta-analysis approach, examined the tradeoff between advertising revenue and bias, but without modeling the government as a strategic actor. In another study, Prat and Strömberg (2013) focused on the influence of mass media on politics and policy. They employed a survey method to study four main themes: transparency, capture, informative coverage, and ideological bias. As for this study, a quantitative content analysis and an in-depth interview were employed.

The history of media ownership in Sudan is often equated with the government's efforts to silence the independent voices. The Sudanese government in fact sponsored a program to put more pressure on some newspapers that do not conform to the ruling party's policies. Many newspapers have been shut down since the separation of Southern Sudan in 2011 and the remaining ones are merged with the NISS. For instance, Al-Sahafa and Al-Kartoum, have recently been bought by NISS increasing its stake in independent newspapers of Sudan (Index on Censorship, 2013). Freedom house (2015) however states that there exists no clear definition of press ownership or its disclosure as no law requires it. Moreover, many owners abstain from disclosing their ownership in order to evade taxes and safeguard themselves from attacks and criticism. As a result, journalists and other media personnel work for low wages and they do not earn enough salaries to cover the cost of living.

This has been a strong reason for the increase of corruption in the media as more and more political coverage is done to favor politicians and in turn gain some benefits. The independent media do not receive any government aid, but they do earn profits by their coverage if it turns favorable to the government. The authorities also liberally release state advertisements to those newspapers that are pro-government and write in favor of its policies (Freedom House, 2015). For example, Klimkiewicz's (2004) study examined media ownership and its impact on media independence and pluralism in the context of Poland. This study looked at the media ownership in the context of the European nation with three perspectives: first, the normative framework and media policies; second, description of media ownership structures; and third, portrayal of media diversity and pluralism. With the normative perspective, it was observed that media ownership patterns followed regulations and there exists such provisions that

discouraged such political and economic interests that might be vested as a normative goal of media pluralism.

At the structural level, the study found that media ownership patterns followed foreign magazine publishers among whom are: H. Bauer and Axel Springer, practiced by domestic groups (Agora, Holding FM, ITI Holdings). However, a few players chose synergy investment in media (Polsat) by merging small media owners. Finally, as for the third perspective of media diversity and pluralism, the study discussed the division of the 'regional press market in Poland between two competitors 'Orkla and Polskapresse'. This pluralism in media ownership has the evidence of strong links between sectors and the owners to share costs and services 'Orkla and Polskapresse', to establish new companies (Polsat), and to enter into agreements for cross sectorial ownership (ITI, Holding FM).

Another study by Cho, Kong and Lin (2004) explored the ownership issue from both theoretical and policy perspectives related to the content of the newspaper. Unfortunately, there is no consensus on the impact of ownership on the content and several studies have cited mixed results. Cho, Kong and Lin have examined the diversity issues from different academic background. They compared newspaper diversity with different ownership and used content analysis method to analyze the influence of ownership on news coverage. Their findings revealed that elements, like story sources, subjects' types, links etc. are different in the high ownership group from those of low ownership group, whereas the length of articles, political dimension, and the number of quotation have no difference between them. Similarly, it was concluded that high ownership group focused more on politics in comparison to low ownership

group though this group experienced more diversity (program diversity), and a higher number of subjects and the link sources.

In view of the above arguments, the present study aims at examining how the ownership pattern (government and private ownership) and access to government information affect the Sudanese newspapers' coverage of corruption in Sudan. The content analysis of three newspapers which are private companies and one newspaper that is owned by the government is adopted in the present study. Journalists working in these private media companies are at risk when reporting issues related to corruption in the activities of the government. Hence, the findings of the present study would contribute to the body of knowledge since media ownership and lack of legal protection for journalist are critical concerns in Sudan (Stapenhurst, 2000). More details about the aspect of access to government information is presented in the following section.

2.6 Access to Government Information

Access to information is defined as “the presence of a robust system through which information is made available to citizens and others” (Burnett, 2005, p. 465). Robust means that the system can make social, physical and intellectual components of information available to the individuals. The most authentic source of getting the information is through the media, like newspapers, television, and radio. Media acts as the intermediary agencies that are responsible to collect information and make it available to its reader (DjankovMcLiesh, Nenova, & Shleifer, 2001). A few scholars believe “the right of access to information has become the dominant right in the information and knowledge era” (Lor & Britz, 2007, p. 392; Brown, 2004; Byrne, 2003; Corredoira, 2007; Cramer, 2009; Doctor, 1991, 1992; Jaeger, 2007; Lievrouw,

2000; Lievrouw & Farb, 2002; Smith, 1995). The growth of information and communication technologies (ICTs) has set forth globalization, thus enabling people to share knowledge and enter into economic activities. In Addition, ICTs have offered opportunities of transparency and democracy in the public and civil environments (Lor & Britz, 2007).

In this sense, Holder and Lee (2007) consider access to information as a significant aspect of a democratic society and a pre-requisite to fundamental and constitutional rights like adult franchise, freedom of speech, and people participation in decision-making. Similarly, Holder and Lee, Shelton (2006) suggest that the right to access information actually is people's right to obtain it. In other words, the state must help people acquire information from the state authorities or private bodies. In addition, the state is required to share all information related to public and private plans and projects that deal with public life and might have an impact on the environment.

Similarly, a study conducted by Lor and Britz (2007) focused on freedom and knowledge society. Their argument is based on the concept that the current age is an era of knowledge and calling it in terms of information and communication is too limited. Instead, they suggest the usage of the term "knowledge society" to signify that the focus is on the content along with the creation of knowledge and its free distribution through media sources. Their definition of freedom means to have an opinion without fear and interventions and to give and receive information– which may be called here as 'freedom of information' – this information is disseminated through the internet, that is the most effective and accessible means of communication, information and knowledge society. The internet and modern communication technology has opened

many platforms for dialogue and sharing one's ideas and creativity. Nevertheless, the governments of some nations consider this as a threat and adopt measures to control or limit its access by controlling the Internet. In this regard, a valid question is raised whether it is possible to evolve a knowledge society if the society is refrained from freedom of information. In today's knowledge society, freedom of information is rightly called a basic human right, for which long battles have been fought internationally. For instance, Article 19 of the *Universal Charter of Human Rights*; Article 4 of the *Declaration of Principles* is adopted by the first World Summit on the Information Society in Geneva in 2003, and so on.

Another way of looking at this issue is that any information related to the state or government is a national resource of a country. In other words, neither the government nor the public officials creates information for their personal use and consumption. Information is considered as a strong force required by officials to discharge duties of office legitimately and for the benefit of the public. Hence, the government as well as the officials are 'trustees' of the information of the people (Karim, 2013), and they must allow the access to this information by the public when needed.

Burnett, Jaeger and Thompson (2008, p 57) found that access to information can be seen with three perspectives; physical, intellectual and social. Physical access stands for “the physical structures that contain information, the electronic structures that contain information, and the paths that are traveled to get to information”. Physical access can be affected by geographical, technological and economic factors, thus making access less challenging. As for the Intellectual access, it means to understand information as contained in documents, and to see “how the information is categorized,

organized, displayed, and represented” (Jaeger & Bowman, 2005, p. 67). Intellectual access can be affected by a person’s physical or cognitive traits, one’s linguistic skills, and technological literacy. It is often observed that if physical access gets enlightened or maligned by external factors, the intellectual access is influenced by the individual’s internal characteristics. Finally, social access stands for an individual’s social environment, one’s social norms and the external views that one accesses the information (Burnett & Jaeger, 2008; Jaeger & Thompson, 2004).

U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID, 1999) laid a few reasons arguing that the right to access information is essential in democracy. First and foremost, reason is that the access to information allows “citizens to make responsible, informed choices” and not to remain in “ignorance or misinformation.” Second, access to information “ensures that elected representatives uphold their oaths of office and carry out the wishes of those who elected them” (USAID, 1999). For its compliance, it is necessary that law must be strong enough to keep a check on the regulations and practices in order to strengthen independent media. Finally, if media is independent, it can assist in holding transparent elections providing candidates access to information in the form of reporting pertinent issues in a judicious and objective manner (Becker, 2002). In this regard, Carroll (2016) contended that providing faster and better access to information about the government’s activity would feed investigative journalism and give the press the weight it needs to better serve as a check against the government.

In an empirical study by Silva Zaverucha and Rocha (2015), a statistical analysis on this issue was conducted. The sample involved democratic countries that had lower concentration of ownership of media. Their main objective was to find whether it was

possible to check empirically the negative correlation between concentrated media ownership and democracy index. Their findings proved their theoretical prediction that a decentralized media ownership is strongly related with democratic countries. Their findings were also based on the relationship between variables that had economic impact on variables, like media pluralism, political participation and democratic values.

The media thus assist modern democracies to advance forward. In other words, the media with its news analysis and editorial content provide all the required information that help lawmakers and voters make decisions (Besley & Burgess, 2002). However, a possible bias in media is a cause of worry for the economists (Tella & Franceschelli, 2011), since in many places that have independent media or the freedom of press, the government sponsors the largest advertisements. In some cases, when few investigative reporters talk about the increased government's responsibility towards the lower corruption, it is often considered a direct attack on the government's agencies (Gentzkow, Glaeser & Goldin, 2006).

For instance, Tella and Franceschelli, (2011) carried out a study on four newspapers in Argentina that reported on their first page the government's corruption during the period 1998-2007. The study cited examples of corruption and connected them with the extent to which each newspaper is a recipient of government advertising. The correlation was found negative. It was found that one standard deviation that increases in the monthly government advertising (0.26 million pesos of 2000) will reduce the monthly coverage of the government's corruption scandals by 0.31% on the front page or 25% of the standard deviation in the coverage. Overall, the findings are consistent

with Tella and Franceschelli's (2011) study. The study also discovered a few advantages of focusing on corruption. For example, it becomes easier to classify the news events as favorable or unfavorable to the government. Second, corruption in the government becomes a topic that will occupy only the front page which gives one measure of the intensity of the negative coverage (per day per newspaper). This aspect can be aggregated at the monthly level to give a measure of how intensely a particular newspaper has provided negative data about the government.

Based on this study, it proves that media cannot control the abusive government, particularly those that have high levels of corruption and weak legal systems. The governments may curb or regulate media through censorship and intimidation by imposing restrictive laws on those who wish to have access to information (Lor & Britz, 2007). In Sudan, the Sudanese government claims that after approving the Law of freedom of information in January 2015 by its Parliament, there would be an increase in transparency and people will have better access to public information. However, by examining the past record of censorship and harassment by the Sudanese authorities, it seems that journalist and media personnel doubt the truth of this statement and feel that such law will be another way to suppress their freedom (CPJ, 2015). The right to access information is closely related to knowledge production. Due to open markets and international competitiveness, it has become imperative to invest in innovation and knowledge production which will allow free flow of knowledge and unhindered access to information (Lor & Britz, 2007). Therefore, the study focuses on exploring the difficulties faced by journalists in reporting the financial corruption of Sudanese government.

The right to access information has multifarious meanings. For example, a few calls it ‘freedom of information’, or sometimes ‘access to information’ or even ‘the right to know’. Each of these terms has the same meaning and each term suggests that citizens must enjoy the right to know and receive information about the government. The United Nations declared Freedom of Information as a fundamental human right in 1948, and since then, this law allows people of a nation to obtain information from the government officials who are legally bound to provide it.

For Karim (2013), in this era of information, no citizen can be denied the right to know facts related to the government services and other related issues. In this regard, several nations in Central and Eastern Europe, including Hungary, Ukraine and former Soviet Union, passed RTI laws between the year 1992 and 2006. In addition, more than 51 countries in other parts of the world have enacted information laws, and by September 2012, this number reached 93 nations which had national-level right to information laws or regulations in force. These countries Included China, India, Russia, several countries in Europe and Central Asia, more than half of Latin America, more than a dozen in Asia and the Pacific, ten countries in Africa, and three in the Middle East (Karim, 2013).

Jaeger and Burnett’s (2005) study on democracy and open access to information by its citizens showed that a democratic country provides opportunities of deliberation and dialogue between members of different social groups which is an essential component of a democratic society. In a democratic society, therefore, much depends upon the extent to which freedom of access to information is granted to citizens, and this determines the communication between different social groups. Likewise, in America,

the signs of a successful democracy appear when the government information is widely distributed and is accessible to citizens who can be called as “informed citizenry” and are capable of participating in all types of civic duties and obligations. This could be possible due to the approved the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) in 1966. However, prior to this, no government agencies were willing to share unpublished information with the citizens (Relyea, 2009). With the passage of FOIA, the United States became the first nation with a law giving a legal right to its citizens to obtain information about the government.

In spite of enactment of the act, Bush’s administration maneuvered to restrict openness and transparency and even kept a lot of information away from the public view and other parts of government. Consequently, there was a conflict between two government departments over this issue as the executive wing went to federal court to fight against the Government Accountability Office (GAO) when he refused to share some information about the administrative activities (Relyea & Halchin, 2003). It was evident in many instances that the US administration also started refusing the access to information and even ignored and refused FOIA requests (Relyea & Halchin, 2003). In other words, the government officials were strictly prohibited from divulging any secret information when discussing policies (Suskind, 2004). As a result, the Treasury Secretary who violated this mandate was dismissed (Suskind, 2004). A development took place in 2001 when the Attorney General, John Ashcroft, amended FOIA and allowed “the entire federal government to resist disclosure if there was any plausible reason to do so” (Gup, 2007, p. 18). That is to say, Bush’s administration did not promote transparency (Jaeger, 2007, 2009; Relyea, 2009b), rather, it imposed transparency codes (Von Furstenberg, 2001, p. 115). Recently, in Obama

administration, transparency was boasted and was put into practice with the help of new technologies to share government held information.

Similar to the previous studies, Jaeger and Bertot's (2010) study pointed out issues and challenges faced by the citizens, such as having limited access to the internet, making use of non-governmental channels to disseminate government information, digitalized government information, and planning the e-government. This study showed that the limited access to information is a challenge that could hinder the public in general and the journalists in particular from obtaining a clear view of the government's activities and the possible corruption that might happen. The following section probably highlights other issues that are faced by the journalist in their attempt to report illegal activities of the government, which would certainly result in corruption.

2.7 News Framing in the Middle East

Consistent with researchers, several factors may possibly influence how journalists frame an issue: social norms and values, organizational pressures and restraints, pressures of interest groups, journalistic procedures and ideological or political alignments of journalists (e.g., Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Further, news frames are conceptual tools that the media rely on to convey, interpret and assess information. They can be detected by looking at factors that influence reporters, the outcome or newspaper.

Concerning Arabs framing, the media's knowledge of public polls, which showed backing for Israelis, coupled with longstanding stereotypes of Arabs might foster negative frames of the group in media coverage. Within the context of media coverage of ethnic groups, analyses demonstrate the manner in which dominant framing of other

cultural and political groups within national boundaries has been negative and stereotypical. Since it seems that Americans are more helpful of Israelis than Arabs, the media should frame them more negatively. This would support proclamations by such researchers as Chomsky and Herman (1979) and Hall (1980) who assert that the mass media follow elite views that reflect the beliefs of society and the status quo. Arabs and Frames. According to Christison (1997) the frame of reference within which Westerners perceive Arabs today began to form in the mid-nineteenth century when Western historians and Western Christian missionaries began visiting Palestine and conveying their impressions of the land and its peoples to readers and congregations in Europe and America. Said speculates that the negative perception of the group persevered because it is based deeply in religious roots, where Islam is seen as a kind of competitor of Christianity (Moody-Hall, 2002).

Studies have found key modifications in how British and American media frame Arabs. For example, in a study of British and American coverage of Arabs, Whitehead (1987) found a more expanded portrayal of Arabs in the U.S.'s Time magazine than in Britain's The Economist. According to the researcher the British historical role as a colonizer, as well as American and British dependency on Arab oil seemed to have influenced portrayals of Arabs. For the study, sample articles from the American weekly Time magazine and the British weekly The Economist were examined for framing of the October 1973 Arab-Israeli war and the June 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon. In the same way, Sappenfield (2002) found that public compassions for Arabs/Israelis are unusually different in America and Europe. He found that Americans have a tendency to feel close bonds with Israel, while Europeans feel a greater compassion for the Palestinians. He concluded that the trend has evolved over the years.

Factors such as America's larger Jewish population and Europe's greater reliance on Arab oil shape beliefs. Exemplifying a pro-Israeli bias, media activist Ali Abunimah charted several ways in which the conventional American cover Arabs (Adas, 2001). As stated by Adas, American media present the conflict as though it were between equally matched opponents, with the Israeli army defending itself from Palestinian "gunmen." Armed Israeli settlers, instead, are not called "gunmen," Abunimah pointed out that news reports keep statistical track of Palestinian deaths, but hide how the deaths occur or who the dead are. Furthermore, in media language, he contended, Arabs kill Israelis, but Arabs die as a result of "clashes." Furthermore, more often than not, names and autobiographies are included in news stories of Israeli "victims" of Palestinian violence. Pictures of family and friends often accompany the emotionally charged stories.

The European press has also been rebuked for its coverage of the Arab-Israeli conflict as well. In an Aug. 8, 2001 Independent column, Robert Fisk (2001) interrogated what has happened to Britain's framing of the Middle East, mentioning to a Reuter's dispatch from Hebron that stated, "Undercover Israeli soldiers shot dead a member of Yasser Arafat's Fatah faction yesterday in what Arabs called an assassination." Fisk interrogated the use of the phrase, "what Arabs called an assassination." "Any sane reader would conclude directly that Imad Abu Sneiheh, who was shot in the head, chest, stomach and legs by 10 bullets fired by Israeli agents had been murdered, let alone assassinated."

After Sept. 11 as stated by Said (2001), there has been an organized media campaign in the United States that enforces the Israeli vision of the world on Americans, with practically nothing to counter it. The main themes of this school of thought, according

to Said, are Islam and the Arabs are the true causes of terrorism; Israel has been facing such terrorism all its life; Arafat and Bin Laden are basically the same thing; and most U.S. Arab allies, especially Egypt and Saudi Arabia, have played a clear negative role in backing anti-Americanism, supporting terrorism, and sustaining corrupt, undemocratic societies.

Since history repeats itself, the media may become more biased during wartime efforts. Previously, the use of partiality toward one's country has become more predominant in the context of conflict framing (e.g. Reese and Buckalew, 1995; and Adas, 2000). For example, Norhrstedt et al. (2000) found that the context for war correspondents and media coverage of military operations in international conflicts was inundated with propaganda. "Almost every news source, PR officer or politician have, in one way or the other, entrusted interests in relation to the conflict and will only inform about things that apparently support their tactical and strategic objectives" (p. 384). Vincent (2000) found signal that the media's portrayal of the 1999 NATO bombing of Kosovo was composed mostly of official viewpoints that portrayed a pro-western point of view. In the same way, in their analysis of the Persian Gulf War, Reese and Buckalew (1995) found that the practices of newsrooms add up to frames of reference that support "administration policy." These usually affiliated with public values, government/military and corporate interests. Numerous scholars have proposed how and why media frames parallel U.S. policy. For example, the dependence of news organizations on official government agencies and their press liaisons for information has been well documented (Sigal, 1973).

2.8 Challenges Facing Journalism in Sudan

In Sudan, there are many challenges faced by the journalists which could affect the journalism industry, such as censorship restrictive laws, economic pressures, and press freedom (Spilker, 2012).

2.8.1 Censorship

It can be argued that press freedom varies based on each country. This variation could be associated with the economic level of the country. For example, Norris' (2006) study revealed evidences of significant freedom of press patterns across the globe and concluded that the most liberal media was found in industrially advanced nations with affluent economies and consistent democracies. Among the highly scoring points in the freedom of the press, are countries of Latin America and South-East Asia which were with a very high rate, whereas the Arab nations were rated among the lowest countries in press freedom. Hence, Prat and Stromberg (2013) emphasize upon the importance of media freedom for good governance and express concern over the absence of any knowledge about the determinants of media freedom itself. It is however a myth that political institutions in democracies determine media freedom. For instance, there are evidences that several non-democracies have granted freedom to media more than any democracies. In addition, it has also been observed that the level of media freedom fluctuates from high to low in many countries though the political institutions remain unchanged (Gehlbach & Sonin, 2014).

In the case of media coverage of Putin's third presidential term on the federal television networks in Russia, Schimpfoss and Yablokov (2014) discussed issues of censorship, self-censorship and compliance. They have studied the allegation on federal television imposing coercion upon TV reporters, TV presenters, and TV anchors in their

broadcasts of the political content. Their findings that were based on interviews with media personalities proved that all the claims are wrong, arguing that the Russian federal government should not coerce or throttle journalists and reporters or mandate the editorial staff to exercise self-censorship and support the government's views. On the contrary, the findings revealed that reporters and other news media enjoy relatively more freedom that is boosting their creativity and keeping the audience's ratings up. The study also found that there was a separate team of TV anchors and reporters, often known as celebrity media personalities, who were assigned the task of direct promotion of the Kremlin policies through their political discourses.

However, whatever celebrity status media personalities enjoy, they must accept and follow "regulatory mechanisms" (usually described as editorial policy) that is referred to as Western editorial practices, which legitimize the Russian media practices, and show their trust for media personalities. Though such renowned media personalities, like Mamontov and Kiselev detest as well as criticize censorship, they argue that censorship cannot determine media governance or monitor the daily news agenda on TV screens. In fact, they interpret every discourse that was released by the Kremlin.

Beyond the Russian example, in Sudan, the freedom of the press and expression was guaranteed by the Interim Constitution of 2002 as contained in article 39 written under the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). However, the press and publications act restricted this freedom under the 1991 penal code, the 2010 national security law which allowed government to impose a significant restriction on the press freedom, including a ban on publishing a specific media content that evoked ethnic and religious sentiment

would potentially stimulate violence. If such a thing happened, editors will be held responsible for such content published in their newspaper (Freedom House, 2015).

In Sudan, the press law expects every journalist to register with the National Council for Press and Publications (NCP). This is a regulatory body monitored by its president who appoints its members and has the authority to order the closure of the newspaper for three days without issuing an order by the court. NCP also conducts a test for every journalist prior to receiving authorization and a license. Licenses are issued by the Ministry of Information Broadcast in a politically biased manner, giving priority to pro government newspapers over private and independent institutions (Freedom House, 2015). According to Karikari (2004), the countries in Africa (including Sudan) still face huge challenges, such as continuous intimidation and repression of journalists. A weak legal system for the independent media and poor regulation from the government have further deteriorated the standard of media professionalism in Africa. Hence, the present study involves exploring the challenges that are faced by journalists in reporting the corruption in Sudan.

Czepek, Hellwig and Nowak (2009) observed that a big impediment in press freedom are the economic factors which have made media more financially dependent on mass markets. For instance, there is a concentration of ownership confined to a small number of powerful media conglomerates which fights between regulation and de-regulation of media. Besides the economic factors, the security issues particularly the one that deals with the prevention of terrorism have a big impact on media freedom in the form of closed circuit surveillance, data protection issues, etc. In addition, post-

communist states have issues, like small markets, and monopolies, political control of the press, among others, are big challenges for the freedom of press.

Gehlbach and Sonin's (2014a) study on the government's control of the media aimed at showing the differences in media freedom across nations over a period of time. In their study, the media bias is believed to be greater under state ownership of the media because the government is likely to have a vested interest in immobilizing its citizens and not allowing them to take any actions that imply political objectives. Likewise, in another study, Gehlbach, and Sonin, (2014b) suggested exploring the government's control of the media content. Their study originated due to an increase in the media bias and the government's desire to exercise full direct control of the media. Hence, this study is based on the principle that bias has two-fold effects. First, it reduces the informational content in the news. Second, it decreases the viewership of those who value that information. This study is based on empirical predictions of the relationship between media freedom and various features of the political-economic environment. As for the present study, it involved private newspaper ownership and governmental newspaper ownership. In spite of the censorship and the restrictive laws, the findings showed differences between these two in terms of reporting corruption in Sudan.

2.8.2 Restrictive Laws

Numerous laws and regulations all over the world restrict the ruling government in exercising any limitation on media to report and share information with the public. In spite of that, according to Sani (2014) several nations have imposed censorship and curtailed the freedom of the press in the form of banning international and national media or imposing dictatorial mandates on domestic news coverage. For example,

Eritrea is at the top of this list with most censorship, followed by North Korea, Syria, and Iran. These three countries have suffered heavily in their geopolitical and nuclear stability, hence, they imposed huge restrictions on information sharing and dissemination of ideas through press. Similarly, a few Arab countries also fit into this authoritarian media system model, where the governments strongly regulate and control journalists and media personnel, thus creating a press that supports the state's policies rather than acting as a watchdog.

However, Rugh (2004) disagrees and argues that the authoritarian model cannot be applied to Arab media systems (including Sudan). He opines that an Arab journalist or an editor is highly sensitive to the political realities of his/her country. In this regard, Glasser (2013) suggests that political realities actually refer to the lack of legal protections for journalists. In other words, political realities refer to regulatory impediments, such as lack of transparency or leadership pressures that do not sponsor any accountability. In addition, there is a lack of authentic studies on the Arab laws and how these laws affect journalism in the Arab world (Glasser, 2013).

There are three factors that are responsible for any dedicated research to be conducted on the Arab world's media laws. First, there is a lack of academic freedom in the Arab region which is a great hindrance to research on media (Brand, 2007). For instance, academicians in Arab universities, intellectual elites and other journalists practice a kind of self-censorship since revealing any views on "sensitive" subjects might make them lose their position, and consequently be expelled from their home countries. Second, language proves a big barrier since in many Arab countries, media laws are written in Arabic without English translations. As a result, English-speaking academics and elite class—having more knowledge about international approaches to

such laws—are unable to examine any source material while the Arabic-speaking native researchers avoid any serious study of media regulation. Finally, there is a general lack of transparency (in all areas including media laws) making it difficult to obtain source materials and other specific information in Arabic or English (Duffy, 2014).

These constraints in the environment of the Arab countries, have consequently led Sudan to have a very poor ranking in the International Press Freedom Rankings. These rankings are carried out by a joint committee of two NGOs, including the Reporters without Borders (Paris) and Freedom House (Washington, D.C). This committee has a uniform method of ranking that is applicable to every country. That is to say, they question experts—practicing journalists, academic researchers, and media observers—about the harassment of journalists (including arrests and police questioning), the media's ability to investigate and criticize the government, the level of self-censorship, the financial ownership of media outlets, and the legal framework of each country (Duffy, 2014). According to Freedom house, Sudan is classified as the "worst of worst" among the worst 12 countries in lacking political and civil rights as well as in the aspect of freedom of press. (Freedom House, 2015). As such, newspapers in Sudan have experienced huge financial losses in the form of low advertisements, frequent confiscations of printed issues of the newspapers from the press and also unstable work environment for journalists who are not paid for months (Doha Center, 2013).

Doha Center press (2013) released a new form of censorship of press that exists in Sudan. It is the censorship of power, arbitration and confiscation. NISS defines confiscation as a seizure of the entire issue of a newspaper on a particular day during

the night after the completion of the print. NISS often convenes a meeting for chief editors in evenings asking them to revise the material published in the newspaper; otherwise, the paper will be confiscated. In Sudan, the new 2013 press laws, that are considered demanding than those of 2009, have legalized the closure of newspapers and cancellation of the registration of a newspaper or a publishing house. In addition, financial penalties on newspapers are imposed, and journalists and editors are prevented from working for certain periods of time.

Mohy Al-Deen Titawy, the president of the Sudanese Journalist's Union (SJU) reviewed the new press laws of 2013 and found that they violate press freedom and expressed his opposition to these laws. As a result of this opposition, all the licenses of journalists and media personnel were taken from the SJU and transferred to the National Council for Press and Publications (NCPP), that is a council that monitors the press in Sudan and is entitled to issue licenses to newspapers or magazines. There is a great regard for NCPP in the eyes of the journalists since it is a governmental body with a good leadership and is under the supervision of the presidency, who appoints its secretary-general. Al-Amin views this changeover as positive since NCPP has the right to control the distribution of the press licenses.

There are ample studies in the critical domain worldwide which recognize mass media development as crucial to the anti-corruption program. Specifically, mass media play a dual role in the fight against corruption. First, it makes people aware of the corrupt practices in media, its causes, consequences and possible remedies. Second, it investigates and reports incidents of corruption of regulatory and prosecutorial bodies (Sowunmi et al., 2010). However, media could have an effective role in curbing

corruption, when there is access to information, having the freedom of expression and a professional and ethical code of investigative journalism (Stapenhurst, 2000). Hence, the present study examines the factors that can affect the Sudanese newspapers' reporting of the financial corruption. The economic dimension might be an element that could probably affect the freedom of press. More details about this issue are presented in the following explanation.

2.8.3 The Economic Dimension

It is likely that the economic factor has an influence on the media freedom. For example, in a study conducted by Whitten-Woodring (2009), it was revealed that media freedom can be greatly affected by the economic environment. This implies that the media owners must do something to liberate media from constraints, so that it can open new avenues for media funding, and at the same time, maintains some freedom. For instance, British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) is fully funded by the government, but it is "editorially independent" (Freedom House, 2007). In other words, there may be economic pressures on the media, but the same pressures can help media get freedom from the elite control, provided that there is enough plurality of ownership and a scope for competition. At present, all news and media houses are under the pressures to make a profit which can be accomplished only by selling their audience to advertisers. Hence, Hamilton (2004) suggests that mainstream news and media house catering to large audience and big markets must compete against each other in order to continue their larger share of the audience; otherwise, they may not survive. His suggestion for the small-scale news and media houses is to cater to niche markets, but they must offer their audience alternative information that they do not find in the mainstream media. In other words, Hamilton suggests that journalists in the

mainstream media may have to resort to self-censor in order to avoid controversial stories, but the journalists in niche media may get incentive to tackle the same stories. This phenomenon has probably presented the idea to the large advertising markets to reduce media bias in both state and private media, but it increases the incentive for the government to nationalize the private media (Gehlbach, & Sonin, 2014).

Djankov, McLiesh, Nenova, and Shleifer (2001) examined the relationship between media ownership and financial market indicators. According to them, if audience are better informed politically and if they can curtail the government through some political actions, it might result in limiting the government to inflict economic losses to the people. In other words, if media can function effectively, there are chances of better economic governance, good quality of regulatory practices, protection against illegal confiscation and intervention. Media can contribute towards economic performance by providing information that improves markets, especially the financial markets which are information sensitive. An authentic passage of information to these markets can ensure better pricing of securities. Thus, their study does not only reveal the abuse of power by corporate insiders but also suggests ways and means to achieve financial development.

As for Sudan, in order to harmonize their tools of force, the government escalated the practice of destroying all the copies of a single issue of newspapers. This had proved a very useful and purposeful strategy in 2012 to threaten and financially destroy publications and media houses. Such elimination of the entire edition of a newspaper resulted in huge financial losses which every media house may not be able to bear. However, no official reason for the elimination was conveyed by the government. In

June 2012, the media reported widely the antigovernment protests. As a result of this press coverage, the Sudanese government retaliated and reportedly raised new taxes on all printing-related expenses, which proved another financial blow to the news and media houses. As a result, five newspapers had to close down in 2012 and a few other publications had their printing banned for extensive periods (Freedom House, 2015). Between 2006 and 2011, severe fines were imposed in the form of taxes on individual newspapers, such was the case with the Al-Sudani (one of the independent Sudanese newspapers), whereby its owner was forced to sell it to a member of the NCP (Index on censorship, 2013). Such findings which were limited to reporting the political situation constituted a rational reason for exploring the challenges faced by the journalists when reporting financial corruption issues in Sudan.

2.8.4 Press Freedom and Corruption

It seems that there is a close relationship between the media ownership, press freedom, and corruption. In their study, Djankov, McLiesh, Nenova and Shleifer (2001) expressed a great concern over the accountability of government officials and politicians towards unethical practices. When the government ownership of the media increases, the level of corruption will also increase (Sen 1984, 1999; Besley & Burgess 2000; Stapenhurst, 2000). Evidences proved that increase in government ownership of media, will lead to greater negative impact on citizens' rights and consequently governments' negative effectiveness. That is to say, the impact of the government's ownership of media is clearly seen in restricting information flow to the public.

It can be highly argued that media has effective roles in several aspects as stated by Stapenhurst (2000). For instance, media contributes greatly in promoting good governance and controlling corruption. In addition, media can educate people about corruption, its causes, consequences, and the possible solutions for such a problem. Media's roles extend to investigate and report incidents of corruption. However, this role depends on the availability of several aspects, such as access to information, freedom of expression, as well as a professional and ethical code of conduct followed by the investigative journalists. Media's role, as clarified by Stapenhurst, can reveal cases of corrupted officials, forcing official bodies to undergo inquiry and investigations. This reinforced the positive impact of the function of media. Media also questioned the legitimacy of the parliament and their anti-corruption bodies pressurizing for amending the laws that open the way for corruption. Stapenhurst's study also discussed measures to strengthen the media, encourage private versus public ownership, ensure the protection of journalists who investigate corruption, and ensure press freedom and media accountability.

Such significant role played by media entails that media should be free from political interference, particularly in the developing countries, where media are "State-owned or state-influenced". The emphasis on press freedom is important because when media are possessed or influenced by the state, the incidents of corruption, even if they are reported however, may be unreliable or framed towards specific goals and interests. In such a situation, media will be inactive and unable to stop corruption or change the existing situation. Hence, media must be free from any kind of control that might limit its proper functions or expose the life of journalists to danger. Media must also have access to data related to the government departments with few exceptions due to

defense and security reasons. Without access to data, media's role to stop corruption is very limited if not totally impossible. As a result, media practitioners were recommended to possess skills that help them fight against corruption practices.

Similarly, Becker, Naab, English and Vlad (2013) strongly support the freedom of media and show optimism that if media personnel operate in a free environment, corruption will decrease and the misdeeds of the governmental officials and politicians will be exposed to the public. In their study, they focused on the measurement of corruption, which is an area of research that has been neglected so far in critical studies. By using public opinion surveys, their findings showed a negative relationship between media freedom and corruption if multiple measures of media freedom are used. In their study, Becker, et al. measured corruption based on the perceptions of the public. Their recommendation was to measure media freedom by the elite evaluators, like Freedom House or Reporters without Borders in order to improve the relationship. However, they queried whether the elite measures would be better and superior to those concluded from surveys of the general public. This may happen only when one believes that the elite evaluators know something more than the general public or the general public may have better skills in assessing media freedom, as well as business and government corruption.

One specific challenge to the finding of a stronger relationship between the public opinion measure of media freedom and the public measures of corruption is that the public may not be aware of the fact that free media can actually lead to lower levels of corruption. It is also possible that the public simply misjudge both media freedom and corruption in such a way to either exaggerate media freedom or underestimate

corruption or vice versa. The findings also challenge the argument of media leaders and others who are interested in promoting media freedom (Becker, et.al, 2013). This freedom increases media independence which will consequently result in significant decreases in corruption. This reveals that there is a relationship between freedom and corruption. In other words, when freedom is high, there will be a high level of reporting cases of corruption. Therefore, exploring the challenges that are faced by the journalists in reporting corruption could highlight the possible difficulties in this domain. However, as for the measurement of corruption based on citizens' assessments, the relationship appears to be quite limited.

In this regard, Sani (2014) emphasizes that both human rights and freedom of the press complements each other in a state of democracy. That is to say, media will be in the public sphere and facilitates public discourse and a dynamic political communication. However, in several countries, freedom of press is quite farfetched because of inhuman treatment of journalists by dictatorial regimes. On the other hand, in some countries like Nigeria, Sani (2014) adopted a content analysis of the front-page coverage of two private Nigerian newspapers in order to study whether the press in the country functions in a free environment. It was found that press is considered to be a strong force to sustain democracy; therefore, Nigerian citizens have a greater access to information for their own use and for understanding the public and the political situations.

More importantly, there is a high level of inconsistency in the studies that discussed the issue of press freedom in some countries, as in Nigeria. For instance, (Sani, 2014) findings show that the Nigerian press enjoys a free environment. This contradiction is

an evidence that studies on the freedom of press is not updated and the reviewed literatures were relatively old. In its transition from the military to the democratic government, Nigeria has witnessed pluralism in mass media channels. Thus, the press plays a dual role in covering the public outcry over the lack of government transparency and insecurity and the widespread of corruption in the political system.

According to (Sani, 2014)), 23.7% of the news items are positive or imply praising the government, 29% are negative or involve criticism, whereas 47% are categorized as neutral. This proves that the press in Nigeria is free to the extent that it criticized the public policies and the government officials on the front page. Regarding other issues, the Nigerian press devoted 62.5% to politics, 13.2% to education, 11% to business, 7.9% to crime, and 5.2% to religion. However, Sani's study has several limitations. First, the study covered a very short period, examined a few number of samples, and the focus was on printed media. Despite these limitations, the findings are valid and yielded an insight for subsequent studies.

In another study carried out by Ahrend (2002), the examination involved the relationship between corruption, manpower and civil monitoring through elements like press freedom or an independent judicial system. Hence, he suggested studying the impact of education on corruption and the ability of the civil society to monitor the government officials. His study demonstrated that education can limit corruption, but if civil monitoring is weaker, it may result in a high level of corruption. This hypothesis was proved in secondary and higher education. Ahrend also examined the relationship between corruption and press freedom directly. However, there was no evidence that corruption negatively affects press freedom. On the other hand, there was a strong

empirical evidence that lacking press freedom leads to higher levels of corruption. Ahrend's study has attempted to draw attention to a domain that was neglected in the political economy literature in general and corruption in particular. His suggestion implied that a growth in secondary and higher education must have a negative impact on corruption in countries with no press freedom.

Few other studies examined this proposition. For instance, Motlhasedi and Phiri (2015) in a recent study examined co-integration and causal effects between mass media and corruption in South Africa. Their study was based on the interpolated quarterly data of the corruption perception index and the world press freedom index conducted between the period of 2002 and 2014. Their empirical investigation adopted the momentum threshold autoregressive (MTAR) model with a corresponding threshold error correction (TEC) component. The findings proved a negative long-run integration relationship between the two variables with causality running from corruption to the press freedom index. These findings prove that increasing mass media does not lead to a decline in corruption levels. Consequently, it was suggested that increase in the freedom of mass media communication would lead to a decline in the corruption.

This empirical evidence shows the relationship between mass media and corruption in South Africa. It was found that a negative long-run integration between the corruption index and press freedom index exists, but an inverse relationship exists between the time series variables which move in opposite directions over the long run. This implies that a percentage that decreases (or increases) in the corruption index would result in five percent increase (or decrease) in the press freedom index. It was also revealed that the causality effects move uni-directionally i.e. from the corruption index to the press

freedom index, but not vice versa. This implies that greater press freedom can lead to less corruption in South Africa, but not vice versa. These findings are attributed to the controversial secrecy bill that throttles freedom of mass media and provides a statutory provision or platform for covering up some of the corruption issues within the government. Even if this study infers that freedom of mass media is significantly related to levels of corruption, press freedom in isolation cannot decrease the levels of corruption.

Similarly, Brunetti and Weder's (2003) study found a significant evidence "if more press freedom then less corruption" scenario. This shows that the direction of causation runs from higher press freedom to lower corruption. Empirically, Brunetti and Weder's study demonstrates a strong relationship between the level of press freedom and the level of corruption across countries. It also suggests that free press can control corruption since the causation runs from more press freedom to less corruption. Theoretically, the range of coefficients is between 20.015 to 20.037, which suggests that press freedom could reduce corruption between 0.4 and 0.9 points (on the scale from 0 to 6). Their study also shows that there can be an improvement in press freedom that is equal to the level of Norway (the country with the freest press) or in the case of Indonesia. This means a reduction in the corruption to the level of Singapore. As for the Russian Federation, it would imply reaching the corruption level of the Slovak Republic, and for Nigeria, it would be the level of Belgium.

Chowdhury's (2004) experiment tested different aspects. In other words, the impact of democracy and press freedom on corruption was examined. His empirical evidence indicated that democracy and press freedom can significantly impact corruption since

the voters' involvement in democracy is more robust. The findings also implied that a change in democracy and press freedom can influence the extent of corruption. In Albania, Kronholm (2013) investigated press freedom, conditions for press freedom, and the relationship between press, society, and political environment. It was revealed that though Albania imposes no legal sanctions on the press or freedom of expression, there are other limitations which prevent the country from creating pre-requisites for a free press. The Albanian case shows that in a specific societal context, that includes the government as well, the level of corruption becomes significant for the free presses.

However, if the free press can resolve the issue of corruption, it is not enough to remove the state censorship or repress any state legislation. That is to say, a broader understanding of press freedom is required. Although the Albania's legislative structure does not put any constraints on the freedom of the press, media outlets and the media personnel and journalists experience significant pressure from the corporate and politics. Pressurizing involve legal, economic and physical practices.

In this context of Albania, one may refer to Weaver's three prerequisites for a free press and of which evidence were seen in Albania case. These are (1) no governmental restraints on the media (2) absence of other restraints like legal, political or business (3) propagation of a diversity of ideas and opinions (Fardigh, 2007). It is true that in the case of Albania the prerequisites set up by Weaver's model of press freedom are never fulfilled. Consequently, it can be inferred that Albanian journalists are working in an environment, which fosters self-censorship, expecting them to keep a distance between media outlets and their political affiliation. If these boundaries are crossed,

they must be willing to face the consequences, which will depend on what is being reported.

Logically censorship or self-censorship is always detrimental to any media whose ambition is to be free and independent. Self-censorship needs not to be mentioned in law, but when it is practiced, it definitely undermines the freedom of the press as a “fourth estate”. Hence, Pippa Norris (2006) suggested three key roles for the press: (a) a watch-dog promoting accountability and transparency; (b) a civic forum for political debate, facilitating informed choices, and finally as (c) an agenda-setter for policymakers. When applied in the Albanian case, these three roles have varied implications. For instance, the first role of a watch-dog is severely restrained by self-censorship, lack of resources, and political parties intervening the journalists’ work. It is further undermined by the economic dependence on business and political parties. The second role to act as a civic forum comes true in Albania. There are debates and opinions on the national media, but there is no evidence of the quality of the discourse and its output. Finally, the role as an agenda-setter is turned upside down by the financial dependence of media on business and political parties since media cannot survive without the support of business and political organizations. Such a support is guaranteed at a cost or a condition of media loyalty or keeping the silence. In Albania, therefore, the relationship between the press and the society is reciprocal, and that a free press cannot in itself guarantee any particular outcome. The press’ potential as a catalyst for societal change depends on the political and economic environment in which it functions. Thus press freedom as an ingredient for development is important, but it should not be overestimated. In the case of Albania, the press needs help in the form of a more strictly upheld labor code and a more transparent and fair system for

supporting the media. This would limit the dependence on business and political interests and prevent the government from skewing the competition by distributing their advertising budget based on the outlets' political affiliation.

According to Fardigh (2013) there are relatively few empirical studies on the relationship between media freedom and quality of government. Some of these studies used the level of corruption as the indicator of quality of government. However, studies on media extended theoretical implications for the significance of the media, but they do not have any reliable and conclusive results. Fardigh asserts that it is uncontroversial to say that free media is a representative of democracy or a prerequisite for an open society. That is to say, free media comes with greater transparency; the more informed and involved are the citizens, the more responsiveness and accountability they will be. In addition, the more is democracy, the less is corruption and abuse of power, and the better is the government. As a result, Fardigh argues that the importance of media freedom is the “watchdog” role of the news media and free media as a disseminator of information that may serve to empower the citizens. By highlighting policy failure, corruption in the judiciary, exposing mal-administration by public officials and scandals in the corporate sector, the news media possess this watchdog role. Thus, the media as a fourth estate can function to promote the government's transparency, accountability, and public scrutiny of those in power (Norris, 2008, p. 68).

Fardigh (2013) also mentioned the robust relationship of freedom of press first with corruption and then with the quality of the government which refers to the ability a regime has to perform its activities in an efficient, impartial way without corruption.

However, a typical case and a huge variation in the levels of corruption and the quality of the government across countries with free media indicate that more studies are required. He further argues that the indicators of media freedom need to be more accurate and precise.

Free media have traditionally been seen as vital to democratization and economic development and also as a main source to curb corruption recognized by international actors, like the UN, the World Bank, the EU, Transparency International, and the OECD. The use of free media presents three independent empirical studies that contribute to an understanding of this role, analyzing the media's importance in curbing corruption, and promoting and generating high quality political institutions. Färdigh's (2013) research design and empirical approach broadens the analytical scope of earlier studies, stress the need to break the tradition, and look for new designs of media freedom. Past studies elaborate specifications of both media freedom and the quality of the government, thereby helping bridge the gap between theory and the equivalent empirical world.

It could be significantly argued that the proposition that free media fulfill an important role in fighting corruption needs to be verified. Studies on this aspect are inconclusive and therefore new approaches are required in order to highlight significant issues in this regard. Besides the previous studies, Freille et al. (2007), Lindstedt and Naurin (2010) also analyzed the relationship between press freedom and corruption and concluded that the relationship is complex enough to register the causal relationship between media freedom and corruption. This shows that there are direct and linear effects of media freedom on corruption even after exposing it to the alternative estimation technique.

It was suggested that the curvilinear relationship is best modeled when there is a similarity in the level of democracy and the level of media freedom. Hence, several scholars added that the role of media freedom in curbing corruption depends on whether the specific nation has a well or newly established electoral democracy or not. This may be one of the keys to the question of large variations in the quality of the government across countries with free media. It can be said that the level of media freedom is an important criterion to fight against corruption in old and well-established democracies. In contrast, media freedom is of less importance in newly established and weak electoral democracies to combat corruption. This has implications for the prevalent view that media freedom fulfills an important role in fighting corruption. However, international organizations, policy regulations, and recommendations emphasize the significance of free media, media plurality, and competition as an antidote to many global problems. Within this context, in order to expand our views of how and when free media is likely to contribute in the fight against corruption, in processes of democratization, and improving countries' quality of government, free press was studied by Norris (2006) in order to examine to what extent, it promotes democratization, good governance, and human development.

A regression model was prepared to study those factors that are associated with democratization and good governance, such as wealth, ethnic fractionalization, and colonial histories. The findings support the beliefs that liberal theorists regarded media as a salient component of both democracy and good governance. However, these findings are inconclusive since Norris' (2006) study did not explore which of the three roles (watchdog, civic forum, and agenda setter) usually ascribed to the press is of

greater worth in these relationships. For example, it is plausible that if the press acts as watchdogs, it will have a greater role to play in destroying corruption. The other functions of acting as a civic forum or agenda setter require detailed case studies approach and a greater focus on the methodology that the media usually resort to explain these relationships. However, Norris' study does not discuss the indirect impact of the free press on levels of human development. Consequently, a need was suggested to improve democracy and good governance in order to eradicate poverty and make the governments more accountable and responsible. The freedom of expression and an unfettered free media as significant element of human rights and powerful opposition of the government abuse of power were also highlighted in a study by Fardigh (2007). However, Fardigh (2007) focused on the relation between the free press and corruption. Several reasons showed why this relation can be assumed as important. Press freedom is perceived as a surety against government abuses of power and malfeasance and provide citizens with impartial and sufficient information. Norris (2006) argue that news media in their 'watchdog' role can contribute in promoting the government's transparency, accountability, and public scrutiny of decision-makers in power. For this purpose, the news media must highlight failure of policies, bad practices of public officials, evidence of corruption in the judiciary, and scandals in the corporate sector. Thus, it is obvious that free press negatively affects corruption. It can be concluded that the influence of press freedom on corruption is not an assumption but a reality. The empirical findings provide an indication of the importance of how the measurement of press freedom is conducted.

Given this inventory, most of the empirical results are based on the same press freedom measure (Freedom House, 2006). However, the media freedom is defined as linked to

“the legal environment for the media, political pressures that influence reporting, and economic factors that affect access to information” (Freedom House, 2006). It is unlikely to argue that the results would appear different with another press freedom assessment. Therefore, a more systematic analysis of the Freedom House’s press freedom measure- the development, the assumptions behind the methodology and the reliability of the measure, and additional, to compare the Freedom House ‘s measure with other similar press freedom measures - would be desirable and important. Another motivation would be to investigate the relation between the three sub-parts of the press freedom measures, legal environment, political influences and economic pressures and corruption. According to Fardigh, Anderson and Oscarsson (2011), the press freedom contributes greatly in fighting corruption. They point out that media plurality, media freedom and competition require fighting corruption and should be emphasized in the law, government policies and public recommendations. However, limited knowledge is available about how to manipulate and utilize the merits of an effective media and freedom of press to fight and combat corruption. Hence, due to lack of studies on the relationship between press freedom and corruption as pointed out by Fardigh et al. (2011), a necessity arises for new approaches are required to obtain more information in this field of study. They have recommended to add more improved data in the study of the relationship between press freedom and corruption which may act as indicators of press freedom and curbing corruption. They applied novel estimation techniques to analyze their data, based on which it became possible to understand such problems that arise during studying estimating models with time-invariant as well as time-invariant variables correlated with unit effects. However, limited studies have discussed this relationship between press freedom and corruption. Consequently, the present study would present a robust test of the previous findings.

In addition, they added novel observations. They achieved this by re-applying the analyses with different indicators of corruption and new estimation techniques to confirm the findings of previous studies. They also attempted to look beyond simple models of direct impact of press freedom and the level of corruption. They overlooked the curvilinear relationship which was considered to be best modeled with an interaction between democracy and press freedom (figure 1). However, it is unlikely to ignore the results which infer that free press' fight against corruption depends on the state of electoral democracy in that country. They observed that very well-established democracies have a very high level of press freedom that enables them to fight corruption.

Because of this great significance of free media, Whitten-Woodring (2009) emphasized that free media should act as a watchdog against the government, whether it is a democracy or an autocracy. However, it is true that a few democracies have government-controlled media, and some autocracies have free media. Therefore, it is important to explore this dichotomy between two different types of regimes and how the freedom of media affects the government's behavior. In their study, the findings proved that there is a high government's consideration for human rights in democracies, whereas there is a low government's respect for human rights in autocratic countries. The reasons attributed for the decreased government's respect for human rights involve the absence of political competition, lack of free and fair elections, and lack of free media.

In short, their findings indicate that although free media does not always result in improved government treatment of its citizens, it plays the role of a watchdog over

the government's behavior, Many NGOs have recommended that free news media would help improve the government's respect for human rights (Amnesty International, 2006). This may be true only in democratic countries, but in countries, like Mexico and Uganda, it is required to study these hypotheses because the concept of media as a watchdog in autocracies may not get a good response. Hence, the present study aims at exploring how press freedom as one of the significant external factors affects newspaper framing when press covers the issues of corruption in Sudan.

2.9 Agenda setting and framing theory

Theories are important in any study as they assist in shaping and directing research. Moreover, the effective role of media reportage of corruption can be better explained from a theoretical perspective. Therefore, this study is underpinned by two main theories which comprise of Agenda Setting Theory and Framing Theory.

2.9.1 Agenda Setting Theory

Based on the ideas of Lippmann (1922) "The world outside and the pictures in our heads" the agenda setting theory gained its roots. Of central concern to the study of Lippmann was that the primary linkage between events in the world and images of these events in our minds is the mass media. In fact Rogers, Dearing and Bregman (1993) demonstrated that the above study was what resulted to the conceptualization of Agenda setting theory. It is equally important to note the significant contribution of the study of Cohen (1963) to this theory. According to Cohen (1963) the mass media may not be successful mostly in telling public what to think, but they are stunningly successful in telling their readers what to think about. The central idea of this theory is that elements prominent in the media pictures become prominent in the receiver's

pictures. Results from earlier studies demonstrate a strong and consistent association between mass media element and what becomes of people prominence. For instance, the study of McCombs and Shaw's (1972) on Media's role in the 1968 presidential election campaign in Chapel Hill, North Carolina indicated that the media agenda correlated almost perfectly with the public agenda (Rogers, Dearing, & Bregman, 1993).

In fact, a considerable amount of literature has been published on Agenda Setting Theory (McCombs, 1997). These studies include studies of media agenda setting, public agenda setting and policy agenda setting, which are basically classified as Agenda setting process and are deemed to be interrelated (Rogers, Dearing & Bregman, 1993). According to Rogers, Dearing, and Bregman (1993) "Media agenda setting includes those studies that conceptualize the mass media news agenda as the main dependent variable of study. Public agenda setting includes those studies that conceptualize the relative importance of issues to members of the public as the main dependent variable of study. Policy agenda setting includes those studies that conceptualize the issue agenda of governmental bodies or elected officials as the main dependent variable of study" (p.69). Each of these theoretical positions make an important contribution to our understanding of Agenda setting theory.

This study will focus on the media agenda setting category which is in concomitant with the aim of the research to critical investigate the challenges of journalists in reporting issues of financial corruption in Sudan. Proponents of Agenda Setting, have also suggested that the first level of the theory focus on the media telling people what to think about. While on the other hand, the second level deal with how to think about what the media tells people (Kensicki, 2000). As explained by Shoemaker and Reese

(1991) and Ilearing and Rogers (1992) the media agenda is created via an interactive process between the news media and their sources in the perspective of competing news organizations, issue interest groups and news-handling conventions. The theory posited that the mass media make publics know or not to know, interested in or ignore general issues (Shaw, 1979).

While the discussion in the preceding paragraph highlights the agenda setting levels, it is equally important to demarcate the premise of this study. This theory underpinned the challenges faced by journalist in reporting financial corruption cases in Sudan and the first level of agenda setting theory will drive the discussion in this research. Moreover, the “media agenda determine, to some degree, the audience (public) agenda. Determining what to select for attention and what to ignore among a number of existing issues means determining the perspective you apply to view the political world as a whole” (Takeshita, 1997, p.8). It can be inferred from the perspective of this theory that the Journalist and the media in Sudan need to be disseminating information regarding financial corruption by setting it as a key items on their agenda. Nevertheless, the Sudan media refused to include financial corruption in their priority list.

Previous studies on Agenda Setting Theory have highlighted the key components which are basically associated with the first level of the theory. For instance, McCullagh (2002), demonstrated that the role of the political and social values of those who work in media organizations is the first component. The second stage deals with ownership and control as the media system owned by the privately-owned cooperation's, a mix of public and private ownership or by the state. Next, is associated with effective communication which requires having some idea about the audience

with whom to communicate. Finally, the sources of the media which consist of institutional sources such as professional organizations, experts, business associations, pressure groups and government officials.

Studies on Agenda Setting Theory show the importance of the theory as the most recognized theoretical paradigm for research on media effects. In an experimental study conducted by Kiousis, Bantimaroudis and Ban (1999) which investigated the level of corruption attribution of two political candidates, it was found that corruption has a slight impact on affective and overall salience by approaching a statistical significance in both cases of the two experimental design administered to the participants.

Previous research comparing private issues and public policy identify that an agenda represents a powerful metaphor for what is ruled in and out of political attention, and the agenda-setting process represents a metaphor for political participation and thereby influence attempts (Berger, 2001). The core idea of this theory centered on the simple but powerful notion of issue presence or absence on agendas. In fact, Berger (2001) found the association that agenda exercised some influences on the policy agenda for these issues, even if policy outcomes were mixed.

Drawing inspiration from Agenda setting theory as applied in this study, the media dissemination of financial corruption news will increase the awareness of the audience in the fight against corruption in Sudan. Moreover, journalists have critical role to play by ensuring they prioritized covering issue related to financial corruption. Even more, they have to incorporate sources that are reliable in their reportage which is in congruent with the first level of this theory.

In its application, it is assumed that “the more attention the media give to a topic, the greater is the importance attributed to it by the news audience” (McQuail, 2010, p. 548). This suggests that if Sudanese newspapers give much space repeatedly to corruption issues it is seen by Sudanese information consumers as very important. Put succinctly, agenda setting implies that the Sudanese newspapers decide what issues of corruption are regarded as important at a given time in a Sudan. In raising such vital issues to the platform of discourse and drawing attention to it, the newspapers especially succeed in their efforts among other ways, via the volume/frequency of coverage, the direction of coverage, the prominence given to the reports, indicated through headline displays; pictures, layouts in newspapers and story page. This position is supported by Nwabueze, Ugochukwu and Egbra (2014), when he noted that the newspapers achieve the tenets of agenda setting through:

1. The quantity /frequency of reporting on corruption
2. Prominence given to the report on corruption
3. The degree of conflict generated in the reports on corruption
4. Cumulative media – specific over time on corruption

Similarly, the newspaper has the capacity to raise the importance of corruption issue in Sudanese’s mind. Newspapers may not exactly tell you what to think, but they may tell you what to think about. Corruption issues in Sudan are not an exception. Corruption issues are reported through the pages of Newspapers. The impact of agenda-setting makes newspapers. As such, it makes people to attach importance to corruption issues on the pages of newspaper.

2.9.2 Framing Theory

Framing is the process by which a communication source, such as a news organization, defines and constructs issues such as corruption matters. Based on this, Nelson, Clawson and Oxley (1997) noted that people's reasoning about challenging issues may be shaped by the mass media's depiction of the issues. This will guide researchers to offer evidence-based guidelines to practitioners and policy makers. Framing theory was founded by Entman (1993) which posit that “to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (p.52). Stated differently, Chong (2000) explores the idea that framing is a technique to trick and manipulate stakeholders. In this globalization era media effects can be classified as social constructionism which indicates that the mass media constructs social reality by framing images of reality in a predictable and structured way (Cissel, 2012).

Based on the ideas of Scheufele (1999), the concept of framing has been merged with other concepts such as agenda setting or priming. In fact, several researchers have demonstrated that not only are agenda setting and framing theory effect related, framing is part and parcel of agenda setting (MaCombs, Shaw & Weaver, 1997). However, scholars in the field of communication have identified a clear demarcation among the concepts. In particular, agenda setting has been shown to be the first function of framing because it highlights the issue important to government attention. Meanwhile priming deals with the intended effect, of strategic actors framing activities (Entman, 1993; McCombs, 1997; Scheufele, 1999). Moreover, other scholars have argued that when paired, priming and agenda setting have the potential to bring about widespread bias. It is however important to note that bias is regarded as consistent

patterns in the framing of mediated communication that promote the influence of one side of conflict over the use of government power (Entman, 1993). As demonstrated by Budd, Craig and Steinmen (1999), media meet recommended or endorsed bias at the most fundamental levels: consistent framing in favor of capitalism, patriarchy, heterosexism and individualism among other American cultures. In fact, a significant number of literature has been published which established framing as an entity (Cissel, 2012; Entman, 1993; Kosicki, 1993; 2000; MaCombs, Shaw & Weaver, 1997).

Drawing from the propositions of this theory, it can be inferred that Sudan journalist should frame issues that are controversial especially related to corruption in government. As the theory highlighted, message must be framed in order to project the critical issues that are of concern to the public. Particularly, issues related to corruption should be reported in the front pages on newspapers so that they can become salient. When controversial issues are made salient, the journalists should protect their sources. In that case the sources will give more information to the journalists. The researcher argues that the more protection the sources gets from the journalist, the higher the possibility of getting the mass support of the public in times of harassment from the government. Overall, there is need for media laws in Sudan to be repel and replace with global journalistic best practices. This will serve as a step further toward challenging the government on issues that are related to corruption. In fact, all other component of the studies which include control of the media through restricted laws, censorship, the ownership of newspapers, financial pressures on newspapers or journalists and their impact on the amount of press coverage on the issues of financial corruption in Sudan, had been logically highlighted by this theory.

2.8.2.1 Definition and Overview of Framing

Recent studies have shown that framing of a new content not only reduces certain considerations but also makes a new content available which could influence individual's belief (Lecheler, Vreese, & Slothuus, 2009). In addition, the growing number of studies have shown that framing influences the public opinion (Lecheler, 2010). The main framing theory of the thesis postulates multiple visions of an issue from different perspectives, and at the same time, interprets its consequences for multiple values or thoughts. Framing is also understood as a process to conceptualize an issue or manipulate thoughts about an issue towards a new meaning (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Specifically, a frame can also be considered as a message or communication that refers to reality and unfolds various perspectives of a reality (Tuchman (1978).

In the past decade, the usage of frames in media discourse has become a virtual business. For example, research studies have examined frames for multifarious purposes, first to identify issues and their definitions; second, to calculate the amount of media coverage across its outlets; and third, to examine variants of media (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). In this regard, Lecheler and de Vreese (2012) noted that the concept of frames has gained significance in fields, like politics, sociology and communication, thus defining and interpreting the media's effects on developing public consciousness for political issues.

Framing Theory has assumed various approaches like Agenda-Setting and Cultivation Theory which are very popular in the field of media studies (Bryant & Miron, 2004). Examining news framing's impacts is great since it provides the researcher an instrument to interpret why little developments in an issue or an event can potentially

lead to big changes of public opinion or some other consequence (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Frames can be defined as shapes of clarification meant to categorize information and process it professionally. Frames thus stress upon certain elements of reality and drive others as insignificant (S. Lecheler & de Vreese, 2013). Tankard (2001) defines a frame as that important element related to the news story that presents a situation and interprets the issue by choice, “exclusion emphasis and elaboration”. As for Dewulf, Gray, Putnam, Lewicki, Aarts, Bouwen, and Van Woerkum (2009), “framing” has been commonly used in diverse fields, like psychology, communication, sociology or management.

Entman (2007) is another researcher who defined framing as a system of removing such ingredients of observed reality that aggregates a story and builds relations to provide a specific explanation. Another definition by Chong and Druckman (2007) explained the concept of framing as the procedure through which people develop a definite conceptualization of an issue or re position their thoughts about an issue. They defined framing as cognitive representations of knowledge that are stowed in memory and then are retrieved to be employed in new conditions (Dewulf et al., 2009). Individuals believe that they make most of their decisions based on the obtained truths. In addition, individuals are persuaded that their mind stores only that kind of memory that is the consequence of actual experience. Nevertheless, the fact is that everyone’s thoughts and memories are affected by cognitive biases. There are a lot of varied biases, like the attainability bias, anchoring and adjustment and the framing effect, which represent the most vital part of this work. Psychologists and behavioral economists conclude that cognitive biases keep individuals from making mental choices because they affect their judgment. Cognitive biases thus convince individuals

to behave in a particular way (Rispo, 2015). However, there exists a major variance in the viewpoints. For example, the cognitive approach concentrates on memory structures, which guarantee that incoming perceptual information fits into prebuilt fantasy about reality. On the other hand, the interactional approach is a more active process within a negotiation or argument. Therefore, the frame has to accommodate through the whole process (Dewulf et al., 2009).

2.8.2.2 The Importance of Media Framing

The importance of media framing has grown recently because it has proved to be a good alternative for the past “objectivity and bias” model (Tankard, 2001). Now, it is much easier for individuals who are in this profession and also those who practice mass communication to understand the extent of the impact that mass communication can make, and simultaneously get useful suggestions and guidance. In other words, the framing model can prove a good substitute to the conventional pattern of impartiality and bias popularly practiced in the field of mass communication research. However, there are many differences between media framing and the media bias. First, framing is a more developed concept, having no regard for good or bad, favorable or unfavorable, negative or positive. Rather, framing has added a new cognitive dimension allowing greater emotional responses and shaping people’s beliefs and attitudes about events. Second, framing distinguishes between media’s (e.g. a manuscript) ability or capacity in handling different tasks like defining a situation or understanding the issues and negotiating terms of discussion for an amicable solution. In other words, if media want to frame a story about abortion, it will first be defined as a challenge or a social issue, then it will make people understand how killing an unborn child highlights values, beliefs and human emotions. Finally, negotiating a

solution to the burning issue would mean convincing people to accept the argument framed by the media.

Hence, framing represents the fertility and creativity of media discourses, particularly when a particular topic is subtly narrated in more than one way. However, debating between pros and cons, bias or no bias, and their very subtlety also make media framing difficult to define. Media framing also gives an opportunity for researchers to conduct a quantitative study and investigate the hypothesis of media hegemony since this issue has not been empirically authenticated in any studies. Media hegemony is useful when one's frame gets so big and prominent to the extent that people accept it without questioning. In addition, media framing is helpful, particularly in identifying and examining vital elements of the opinion change process among the readership and to study the patterns of influence upon them. In this regard, Tankard (2001) suggests that framing becomes more significant because of its capacity to define the important aspects of debate in such a manner that can be realistic.

Consequently, media framing gains more importance because it provides new visions and influences points for communication practitioners, including journalists, planners of communication movements, and social campaigners (Tankard, 2001). As Tankard observed, a lot of studies on the subject of media framing have been carried out, but only limited studies analyzed media impacts. In other words, very little attention has been directed towards the process of media frame setting inside the newsrooms. As a result, little information is available about the frame-building process, its internal factors, newsroom practices, and the salient features that make a journalist eligible for media framing. External factors, especially the interaction between media and news

sources have not been focused on. The scrutiny of the role of news sources in the process of frame-building may contribute significantly to the knowledge of framing studies. the news sources or frame sponsors are comparatively more influential in the frame-building process (P. K. Chang, Ibrahim, Ahmad, & Khiang, 2012).

2.8.2.3 Framing Process

Framing is specifically useful for gaining knowledge of how the news media content affects issues that are prone to diverse explanations. De Vreese (2003) reported that a media frame emphasizes a few components of a topic which acts as a precept to the construction of news story, which could be in a positive, negative, or neutral manner, but it does affect people's understanding and their reactions on political, economic and social topics (de Vreese, Boomgaarden, & Semetko, 2011).

Though, traditionally, a few studies have examined frame-building process on the internal factors like newsroom practices and characteristics of the journalist, the framing process particularly in newsrooms has not been paid enough attention in critical studies. Similarly, external factors like the interaction between media and news sources has been discussed in limited studies (P. K. Chang et al., 2012). In Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) study, they illustrated that both frame building and agenda building processes use macroscopic techniques which give priority to message structure rather than media impacts. Similarly, media interest groups, politicians, journalists, and other groups interested in forming media agendas and frames can impact both the volume and character of news messages about a specific issue. As such, there exist overlaps in how scholars conceptualize and study the phenomena. News processing is another area of agenda that news items decide frames and process

them in anticipation of what recipients may need. However, the question arises of whether audience can differentiate these two processes. Amazingly, very few studies have discussed the phenomenological aspects of the issue. In addition, limited attention has been given to news messages required for these two processes to happen. However, an assumption underlies this issue which expects framing effect to happen and readership to give considerable attention to news messages. In other words, both content and inferences of media framing seem to be deceptive to any reader who is looking for paying a news story.

Van Gorp (2007) suggested new ways to framing and available benefits to open new avenues of research in media framing. The new approach made an obvious difference between the media content and the frames. There was a difference between the two; if the media content reported a specific event, the frames simultaneously presented the same content in a most specific way using certain devices, so that the readers can make proper ethical judgments about the news item. However, Van Gorp finds that there is no need for logical devices to be mentioned in media content. According to him, media frames were capable of linking itself with readers' schemata enabling them to fill the gaps. Thus, the Constructionist method was useful in understanding the relationship between the cognitive elements of the receivers' brains and the power of the frame found in the media content.

As for the Agenda-Setting theory, it has two methods of analysis: priming and framing. Framing has been more popular than priming, and studies in this field has increased more than two folds in just one decade (Weaver (2007). The increase in popularity of framing is felt not only in communication science but also in the field of communication studies (Bryant & Miron, 2004). This growth of framing has,

significantly affected the limited impact model in the political communication research (D. A. Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Under the Agenda Setting Theory, if framing deals with transfer of such news that is of great prominence, and mostly tells the audience what they would be thinking about, priming will focus on the effects of media's agenda on readers' estimation process (Brewer, Graf, & Willnat, 2003; Domke, 2001; Holbert & Hansen, 2006). Similarly, framing takes the initiative to tell the audience the manner in which to look into an issue (Baran Stanley & Davis, 2003; Miller, 2004). Such a manner discovers possible effects of newspaper stories by investigating their impact on audience's schemata or the human frames. Similarly, framing specifically contributes to the organization and performance of news, and its impacts on the attitude and behavior of the readership.

D. A. Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) for instance investigated the process of building a frame. Fahmy, Relly, and Wanta (2010) explored the possibility of scientific methodology to study the impact of frame sponsors as it happened in their research campaign of the U.S president's media framing.

Therefore, De Vreese (2005) developed a model to differentiate the process of frame-building from frame-setting. According to him, the process of frame-building uses the internal factors that take the center stage, whereas framing the analysis influences the consequence of a frame. Similarly, Tuchman (1978) studied how the environmental work cultures affect the media personnel while reporting an issue. Zhou and Moy (2007) emphasized the significance of the internal factors and specified them as individual, ideological, organizational, political, professional, and journalistic performances of a frame. Regarding the impact of external factors, which are equally important in affecting media frames, are specified as political system, political culture,

and dominant ideas among the public (Zhou & Moy, 2007). Carragee and Roefs (2004) had a similar judgment about media frames when they observed that media frames do not grow in “vacuum”, but they are molded by actors or performers involved in media framing process, namely politicians, organizations, and communal movements. It is important to recognize the contribution of these actors in building media frames of burning issues while doing framing analysis (Olausson, 2009). Hence, some studies (De Vreese, 2005, Van Corp, 2007; Zhou & Moy, 2007) rearranged the extensive literature on media framing into two categories: one deals with frame building process, and the other concentrates on the frame setting process. As for the present study, the focus is on the frame setting process trying to examine the behavioral impacts of news framing, as demonstrated in Figure 2.1.

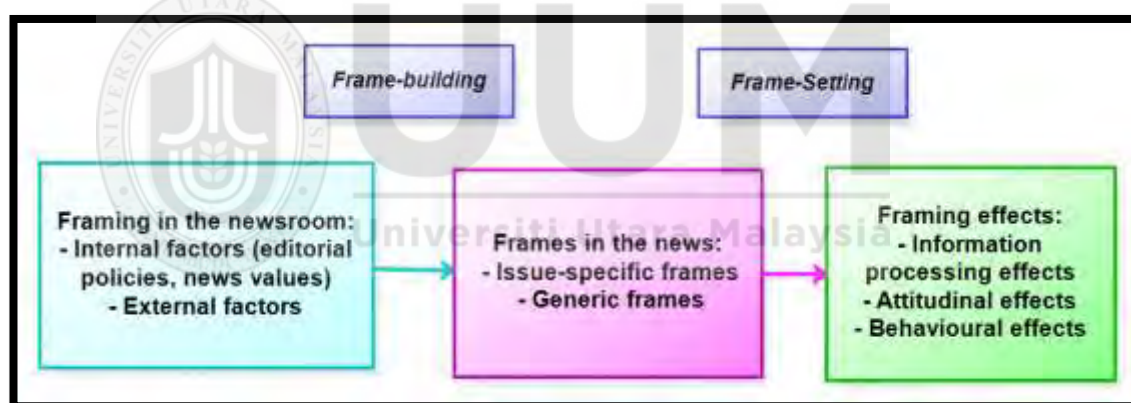


Figure 2.1. An integrated process model of framing (De Vreese, 2012)

The debate on the media’s role in shaping public opinion has been ongoing since the one of Lippmann and Dewey. The framing theory propounds that public perception on politics is strongly connected to the message communicated by media and the way media characterizes issues at stake can influence public interpretation. This becomes more prominent on issues of corruption investigations probes. In this light, this paper has two inter-related objectives: First, it develops and proposes a new set of frames

supplementing to the ones existed in the literature. The second one is to test those new set of frames to explain the dynamics between media and political actors.

As already stressed, the power of the press framing to a larger degree works through the way in which it “frames” situations such as corruption. In this case, the framing of corruption in Sudan. Sudan is one of the most corrupted countries in Africa. Sudan is ranked 177th out of 183, scoring 1.6 on a 10-point scale of highly corrupted nations. In addition, in the citizen’s survey of 2011 Global Corruption Barometer, 67% of citizens in Sudan believe that there was a rise in corruption in Sudan during the last three years prior to the survey (Transformation Index BTI, 2016; Hamid, Mohammed, & Ahmed, 2018). Framing, as Entman (1993) distinguished, is the process by which journalists “select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to endorse a specific problem description, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation. Framing becomes a vital tool in corruption crisis times for political powers in order to influence public opinion and secure their legitimacy.

Various scholars have considered how the media frames issues and crisis (Panayircı & İşeri, 2016). Bichard (2006) provides a comprehensive conceptual approach to analyzing frames. He combines a five- dimensional framework which includes; time, space, tone, topic and mechanism. Based on his approach and others, this paper considers themes, source attribution, tones, visuals, byline, time and space dimensions.

2.9 Research Framework

The following research framework shows how the internal factors and external factors affect the news framing in news room. It also explains the relationship between media framing and its effects on the portrayal of the issues of corruption. Subsequently, it

illustrates the effect of newspaper framing on the information, attitudes and perceptions.

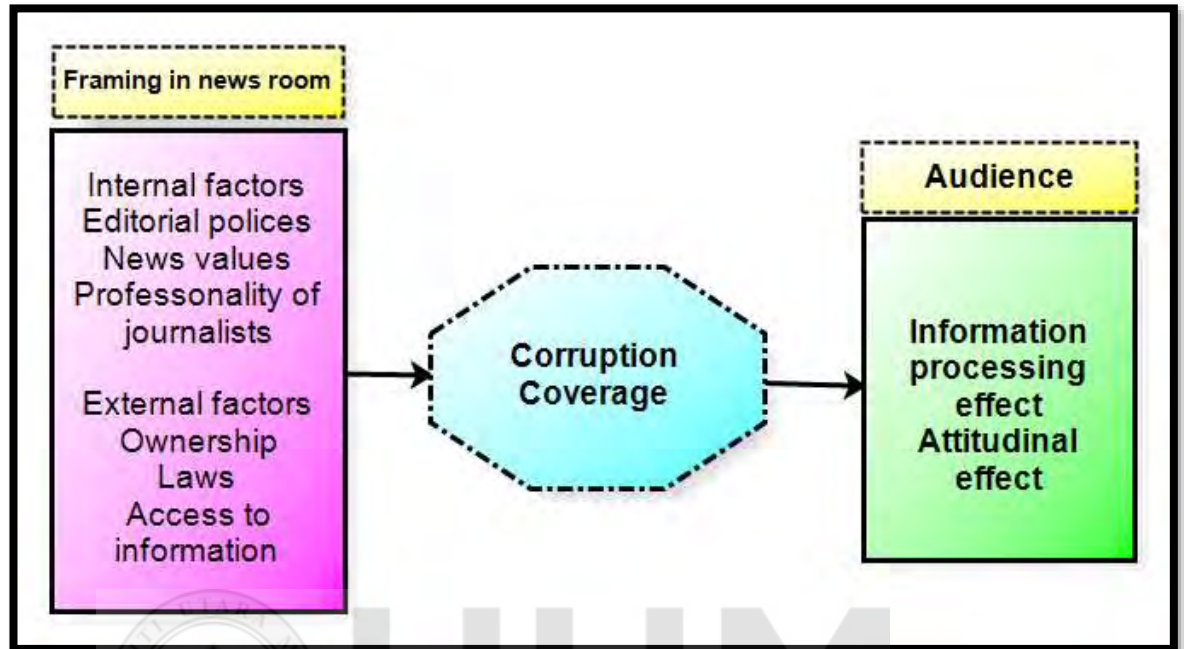


Figure 2.2. Research framework

2.10 Chapter Summary

In brief, this literature review has made a comprehensive survey of the concept that free media plays a significant role in curbing corruption. Several research studies that have been mentioned in this chapter referred to different ideologies including media freedom, competition, policy proposals and general recommendations, and media plurality that can potentially control corruption. This review also proves that very limited studies are available to show how media and free press can actually help combat corruption. Hence, this study, aims mainly at addressing this gap by examining the field of media framing in the context of the issue of corruption in Sudan. Chapter three therefore, presents the research methodology to adopt in order to achieve the study's objectives.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the research design along with the procedure of carrying out the content analysis of Sudanese newspaper and that of the interview approach. To answer the research questions, the main method used was quantitative content analysis while the second method was qualitative with interviews approach. The methods have been chosen because they are suitable to explore the research question under study and establish its objectives.

3.1 Research Design

This study used both quantitative and qualitative methods. The mixed methods of quantitative and qualitative approaches owes much to past discussions about mixed methods (Creswell, 2013). According to Yin (2011) each research has been designed as a fundamental step in conducting a research work in line with the objective of the research. Creswell (2014) stated that research designs is a process for collecting, analyzing and reporting research in both quantitative and qualitative methods hence this study combined these two methods. The perceptions of journalists was explored through in depth interviews while the contents of newspapers was examined through content analysis to determine and the effects of content on newspaper framing of the issues of corruption in Sudan. Therefore, this research employed a quantitative research design to examine the Sudanese newspaper framing of the issues of corruption in Sudan and qualitative methods through interviews to explore the perceptions of the Sudanese journalists.

3.2 Definition and Rationale for adopting Mixed Method Approach

Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, and Turner (2007) suggest that mixed methods research is actually a blend of qualitative and quantitative methods and can be considered as a third methodological or research paradigm. Moreover, in mixed methods research the researcher has the privilege of components of both qualitative and quantitative research approaches. For instance, it becomes possible for the researcher to develop both qualitative and quantitative perspectives, implement data collection and data analysis then develop such inference techniques that would help in understanding and confirmation of the research project (Johnson et al., 2007). In view of this, this study in its first stage started with a quantitative research paradigm and used the qualitative research paradigm for the second stage. Therefore, the mixed method data collection strategies employed in this study were designed to combine components of in-depth interviews method with quantitative content analysis thereby, serving as a valuable design for generating a comprehensive empirical data on newspapers framing of issues of corruption in Sudan.

The real purpose of using mixed method in this study is to enable such objectives of research like participant enrichment, instrument fidelity, treatment integrity as well as significance enhancement such as facilitating thickness and richness of data, increasing interpretation and usefulness of findings (Collins, Onwuegbuzie, & Sutton, 2006). Mixed method of research has demonstrated its efficiency in social science research (Creswell, 2014). Similarly, Morgan (2007) posits that combining qualitative and quantitative methods often improve their strength together in the same research study. In the same way, Axinn, Fricke, and Thornton (1991), Kertzner and Fricke (1997) maintain that mixed method approaches always allow the researcher to use multiple

sources of data from multiple approaches and gain wider perceptions of the external world. Another reason for adopting mixed method of research is that it is very useful due to its methodological pluralism, which gives it the quality of superior research (compared to a single method research). For these reasons, this study applied the approach because information derived from the in-depth interview especially on the newspapers framing role in corruption was used to confirm the content analysis of newspapers. Corroborating the need for this approach, (Axinn & Pearce, 2006) note that mixed method also takes information from a new approach, therefore affording the opportunities to use the strengths of a method to compensate the weakness of other method. Therefore, in this mixed methods study, the findings from both qualitative and quantitative methods were merged at the analysis phase.

3.3 Quantitative data collection method: Quantitative Content Analysis

3.3.1 Content analysis concept and definition

The method of content analysis is considered an important research method in social sciences as its data represents text, as well as graphics that are designed to be viewed and explained. The term “content analysis” is defined in Webster’s dictionary 1961 edition as the analysis of the visible and the latent contents in a communication material through classification, tabulation and evaluation of its key symbols and themes in order to ascertain meanings and the probable effects. Krippendorff (2004) and Berger (2011) defined content analysis as the systematic analysis of the characteristics of a written message. Content analysis can also be used in analyzing human activities and the characteristics of media. Neuendorf (2002) added that, content analysis is a computer-driven analysis of word usage in news releases and political speeches.

Therefore, the quantitative content analysis was employed in this study to examine questions 1 and 2. A technical requirement in a content analysis is that, researcher must possess operationalized definitions of all the categories of classification and analysis in order to ensure reliability. Therefore, this study aims at using the method of quantitative content analysis in order to collect data about various issues of media content like number of times a news item is mentioned, key words in context (KWIC), circulation of the media (audience reach) and frequency (McNamara, 2009). Similarly, content analysis was employed to establish the actual content and framing of newspaper stories on issues of corruption in Sudan. Therefore, the extent and patterns of newspaper framing published by four popular and widely circulated newspapers in Sudan were examined.

3.3.2 Quantitative Content Analysis

There are diverse reasons for using content analysis as a research technique. Firstly, to collect information about the topic as the most appropriate to get accurate and specific information required. Also, to be able to test hypothesis on the issue being investigated (Berger, 2011). According to Jordan, Kunkel, Manganello, and Fishbein (2010) content analysis research is required when theory or empirical research inform choices about what to inspect and how to examine it. Content analysis approach is regularly carried out with the assumption that media messages have specific effects on audiences; in such circumstances, it is clear that empirical findings about effects can inform the content categories to be incorporated. It is also scientifically proven method to examine empirical data about features and subliminal meanings, framed and goals of media texts and images (Purer, 2003). In line with this, content analysis has a few qualities: it is unobtrusive; it accepts unstructured material; it is context – sensitive and can process any kind of symbolic forms, and it can also handle with large volumes of

data. On the basis of these qualities, Kerlinger (2000) finds content analysis method very appropriate to measure variables for the purpose of examining the content in a systematic, objective and quantitative approach. Berger (2011) also laid various merits of content analysis as a research method which is why it is most common form of research. In this research, quantitative content analysis was employed to systematically study the frames and the prominence of news articles in four selected dailies in Sudan that were published from April 2014 to April 2015. The dailies were selected because of their wide readership among Sudanese. The following section therefore discusses the justification for selecting the newspapers in this research.

3.3.3 Population and sampling

According to Richardson (2009) and Tangco, (2007), purposive sampling is particularly significant in information selection, making rich case studies and in-depth analysis on research questions being studied. Therefore, purposive sampling was considered appropriate for this study. Also, purposive sampling is a practical and efficient in terms of time, effort and cost (Elo, Kaariainen, Kanste, Polkki, Utriainen & Kyngas, 2014). The population of this content analysis involved all news stories published in four newspapers namely; Aldar, Al Intibaha, Assayha and Sudan Vision. These four newspapers were selected purposely. The researcher used the keywords related to the subject to access articles and news stories in these newspaper for the period defined. Data not unrelated to this study were therefore removed. As shown in Table 3.1, the selected newspapers are owned by private organizations. However, it is important to note that, the ownership of media in Sudan is controlled by the government which always ensures that, the media is owned by its friends and cronies (Spilker, 2012). Therefore, the four newspapers selected in this study are considered

national newspapers (NCP, 2016b). Three of the selected newspapers namely; Aldar, Al Intibaha and Assayha are circulated in Arabic and only Sudan Vision Daily is circulated in English. The Arabic language newspapers are selected because they are highly circulated in Sudan. For instance, Aldar has 29, 977 circulations since May, 1994. Al Intibaha, has 24, 779 circulations since October, 2005. Finally, Assayha has managed between 11 and 14 thousand circulations since its first production in 2014. Meanwhile, Sudan Vision Daily was selected solely because of the fact that it is the most popular English language newspapers in Sudan and has about 1 to 2 thousand circulations since August, 2003. Furthermore Sudan vision is owned by the government and meanwhile the owner of AL-Dar is loyal to the government Al Intibaha and Assayha are independent newspapers (Elgizouli, 2012)

Table 3.1

Profile of Selected Newspapers

Name of Newspaper	Aldar	Al Intibaha	Assayha	Sudan vision daily
Date of first publication	May-94	Oct-05	Mar-14	Aug-03
Language	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	English
Owner	Al-Youm Printing and Publishing company	Al-Minbar for printing and publishing company	Baboubian Development Co.	Bayader Media company
Circulation	29977	24779	Between (11-14) thousands	Between (1-2) thousands

Source: National Council for Press and Journalistic Publication (2015)

3.3.4 Time Period for the Study

The time period for the study covered April 2014 to April 2015. These periods were chosen because: Firstly, Sudan experienced a politically difficult circumstance being the year on the anniversary of demonstrations that took place in September 2013 over corruption issues, which killed a number of demonstrators. Secondly, there is an increase in the rate of the corruption in Sudan; and the emergence of the issue of the most famous cases of corruption preoccupied the public opinion within these periods. For instance, the cases of financial corruption in the office of governor of Khartoum state as well as the question of corruption in Sudan Cotton Company occurred between these periods (HumanRights Watch, 2014; Almosharaf & Tian, 2014; CPJ, 2015; US Department of state, 2016).

3.3.5 Measurement of Dominant Frames

Frames refer to the central frameworks journalists use to structure a story. The textual frames were ascertained by analyzing the complete article asking three to five specific questions for each frame. To measure the dominant frames used in Sudanese newspapers on corruption cases, this study adopted the framing items validated by (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). The framing items were responsibility frame, the conflict frame, the morality frame, the frame of economic consequences and the human interest frame. The adoption of these frames to analyze newspapers contents is also consistent with previous studies using quantitative content analysis (Yassin & Zauddin, 2012; Ibrahim, Mustafa, & Kee, 2010; Chu, 2010, Carpenter, 2007; Valkenburg, semetko & de vreeze, 1999; Semetko, & Valkenburg, 2000). The five frames focused in this study have indicators (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). These indicators are therefore framed in form of categorical questions as shown in Table 3.2.

The indicators were used to form multi-item scales for individual frames. The values of each framing scale range from .00 which stands for “frame not present” to 1.00 which connotes “frame present”. Subsequently, a high score of any frame indicates the dominance of the frame. See Appendix D for the coding sheet. The operationalization of the adopted frames is presented as follow:

- **Responsibility frame:** This type of frame is used when the government or an individual or a group accepts responsibility for the solution of an issue or a problem.
- **Human interest frame:** This type of frame builds up a situation of pathos or an emotional frame in which an event, issue, or problem is presented with a human angle. The emphasis is on impact on human life, how to capture and retain audience interest, and making efforts to personalize the news, and dramatize the news to issues of corruption indictments.
- **Morality frame:** This frame puts the event, problem, or issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions. Because of the professional norm of objectivity, journalists often make reference to moral frames indirectly—through quotation or inference, for instance—by having someone else raise the question (Neuman, Just, & Crigler, 1992; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). A newspaper could, for example, use the views of an interest group to raise questions about sexually transmitted diseases. Such a story may contain moral messages or offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave. Although Neuman et al (1992) found this frame to be more common in the minds of audiences than in the content of news, they nevertheless identified this frame as among the several used in reporting.

- **Conflict frame :** This frame emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups or institutions as a means of capturing audience interest (Neuman et al., 1992; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).
- **The economy consequences frame:** This frame reports an event, problem or issue in term of the consequences it will have economically on an individual, group, institution, region or country (Graber, 2009; Neuman et al., 1992; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000)



Table 3.2

Framing Items

S/N	Framing Items
1	<p>Responsibility Frame</p> <p>a) Does the story suggest that corruption is increasing in Sudan?</p> <p>b) Does the story portray that some of the government officials are responsible for the corruption in Sudan?</p> <p>c) Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem of corruption in Sudan?</p> <p>d) Does the story suggest that an individual or a group of people in society is responsible for the issue/problem?</p> <p>e) Does the story suggest that an individual, party or group of people in society is responsible for the corruption in Sudan?</p>
2	<p>Human Interest Frame</p> <p>a) Does the story provide a human example for the repercussion of corruption in Sudan?</p> <p>b) Does the story shows or discuss how individual and group are affected by corruption in Sudan?</p> <p>c) Does the story go into the personal or private lives of those accused of corruption?</p> <p>d) Does the story go into the personal or private lives of the officials?</p> <p>e) Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings or outrage, empathy- caring, sympathy or compassion for those involve in corruption in Sudan?</p>
3	<p>Conflict Frame</p> <p>a) Does the story reflect disagreement between public and government on issues of corruption in Sudan?</p> <p>b) Does one party, individual or group , country criticize another about issues of corruption in Sudan?</p> <p>c) Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides that are involved in corruption?</p>
4	<p>Morality frame</p> <p>a) Does the story mention customs or tradition support corruption in Sudan?</p> <p>b) Does the story suggest some social norms that contribute to increase of corruption in Sudan?</p> <p>c) Does the story offer specific social perceptions about how to behave to fight corruption?</p>
5	<p>Economic consequences frame</p> <p>a) Is there a mention of financial losses or gains on the increasing rate of corruption in Sudan?</p>

Table 3.2 Continued

b) Is there a mention of the degree of corruption involvement in Sudan?
c) Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing and punishing those involved in corruption in Sudan?

3.3.6 Measurement of prominence

The second aspect of the content analysis involved determining the prominence of issues of corruption. This is done by evaluating two prominence indicators which are; the length and the position of the news stories within the coverage of the issues of corruption (Hong, 2007; Shomaker et al., 1991; Lee, 2004). According to Carol and McCombs (2003), the prominence of news elements has the capability of influencing the prominence of elements in the public discourse. Also, the story and page placement have the ability to influence the media consumer (Tetteh & King, 2011).

This explains the importance of measuring prominence with length and position of news articles.

In this study, the length of news article was determined by the column inches, lines and size. Precisely, the following parameters were used to determine the length of news articles.

1. 1 – 9 Columns.
2. More than 10 columns but less than half (1/2) of a page
3. Half a page
4. More than half but less than one page
5. Full Page
6. More than one page

These parameters are in line with the methods employed by previous researchers to determine prominence of news elements through the length of news article (Prasad, 2008; Lynch & Peer, 2002). Additionally, the position of the news article was determined in terms of front page, back page and inside page. This method is similar to what is found in previous quantitative content analysis study (Freyenberger, 2013; Yusha'u, 2010).

3.3.7 Justifications for the measurement of the Level of Prominence

Quantitative research methods use what Babbie (1995) called a variable language, which comprises study of variations of characteristics. In the same way in quantitative content analysis, variables can be used in diverse categories. One category could be measurement variable such as prominence, length, position etc. which are summarized and analyzed quantitatively by conveying numbers to show the variations (Riffe, Stephen & Frederick, 2008). Therefore, when designing content analyses, social scientists construct coding guidelines to define the dimension categories that will be used in their examination of media message forms. The goal of coding guidelines is to fully stipulate the mission of determining which messages fit into which content categories (Potter, 2009).

Premise on this, the justification and the purpose of measuring the quantity of stories such as the prominence, placement, tone or space is to develop a percentage of stories covering. Hence, this study sub-categories comprise stories based on prominence and placement, such as parameters used to determine the length of news articles (1 – 9

Columns, More than 10 columns but less than half (1/2) of a page, half a page, more than half but less than one-page, full page, more than one page).

Another justification for the use of prominence in the case of Newspapers Framing on Issues of corruption in Sudan is due to the manifest content which is typically regarded as content elements that are relatively distinct signs that lie on the surface of the content and are easy for coders to recognize. In addition, one of the reasons for using placement of stories of corruption and space allotted to issues of corruption is because of the fact that it is a moderately easy task of recognition and analysis of content as it concerns Newspapers Framing and perceptions on Issues of corruption in Sudan. According to Potter (2009) one level involves the coding task in which coders record whether certain signs are present in the text. If they are, those signs are classified as being present in a certain category. Holsti (1967) in Potter (2009) noted that irrespective of whether content analysis focuses on manifest or latent content, coders receive simple training on easy-to recognize signs. In view of this, Holsti argues that once the coding is finished and quantitatively analyzed, the researcher makes inferences about the results—either inferences about the causes of the communications analyzed or inferences about the effects of those messages.

In a study, Riffe and Freitag (2008) examined 25 years of published content analyses in *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*. They identified 486 content analyses over that period, which shows that it is a popular method, but they also detected that 72% of those content analyses are descriptive in nature and are limited to manifest content such as prominence which was defined through placements, space etc. Also justifying the use of prominence as a measurement scale, Blowers (2006)

reiterates that the application of prominence in quantitative content analysis research would provide results on placement, space, size of the article or a length, and positioning.

3.3.8 Unit of analysis

The unit of analysis in this study was the individual article that contained related items such as news stories features articles, news analysis, interpretive and investigative stories and editorial, while paragraph was treated as measurement unit in locating issues of corruption framing. The paragraph as the measurement unit was used as the specific segment of content in which the occurrence of issues of corruption frame were counted. For example, Prasad (2008) explained that if the coding unit is the word, then the measurement unit may be the sentence of the paragraph which is also found suitable for this study as measurement unit.

3.3.9 Coding Categories

This study concentrated on news stories and articles selected. The researcher made use of prior studies in order to define major categories of the study; while the subcategories depend on the subsequent analysis of the text content of the news stories and articles. These categories were further defined according to the need of the study. These categories involved the information about the newspaper framing on the issues of corruption in Sudan. The news stories and articles in this study made use of coding based on categories that repeated themselves. Categories that overlapped or duplicated one another are combined (Somerand, 1997).

3.3.10 Inter- coder Reliability

The reliability element of content analysis is another term for its stability, which is understood as a trend for all assigned coders to consistently recode data in the same manner over a period of time; similarly, reproducibility, is the tendency for study group of coder of classify categories membership in the same way (Busch et al., 2012). In order to ensure the reliability of this study, two post graduate students of communication while the researcher carry out coding on the sizeable number of sample articles. According to Macnamara (2005) to gain maximum reliability in media content analysis, two or more coders must be used for studying a sample of content known as reliability sub- sample. The coders for the samples should therefore be trained independently as well as practice coding samples of the articles on the contents of the coding book. Subsequently, this study reliability coefficient was calculated using Holsti (1967) formula based on the following steps:

1. Pre- coding training: The coders were given samples of articles as well as a coding Sheet each for practice in order to familiarize them with the content.
2. Pilot coding (doing a test first). After two days with documents, another meeting was fixed where the coders were asked to try and code the articles in the presence of the primary researcher.
3. Re-briefing. The next step was a review or re – briefing of the Code Book to ensure descriptions and guidelines are clear.
4. Retraining of coders. Finally, the coders were trained and briefed again before the sample coding.

In line with Wimmer and Dominick (2006) who recommend that between 10% and 25% of the body of content can be tested. Hence, the inter-coder reliability for this study was established by randomly selecting 42 articles which represent 15 % of all

the article published by the three of the selected newspapers namely; Aldar, Al Intibaha and Assayha.

The result of the intercoder reliability was arrived at through this formula. Reliability = $2m/(N1+N2)$ which indicates that m = number of coding decisions on which two coders agreed while $N1 + N2$ = total number of coding decisions by the first and second coders respectively (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011).

Therefore, based on this guide, this study reliability coefficient were calculated using Holsti's formula as follows:

$$PAO = \frac{2A}{(nA + nB)} = \frac{67}{42 + 42} = 0.755 \text{ (76.5 \%)}$$

The overall result derived from the inter-coder reliability coefficient was 76.5% indicating that the coding strategies, the coding sheet and the coding guide for the content analysis of the three Sudanese newspapers were all adequate and clear. Based on this therefore, the researcher carried out the analysis.

3.3.11 Data Analysis

To analysis the data that were gathered through content analysis in this research, the Statistical Packages for Social Sciences (SPSS) for Windows version 22.0 was employed as software for analysis. In specific terms, the descriptive statistics was used to determine the frequencies, percentage, and central tendencies of different frames and the prominence of corruption issues among the sampled Sudanese newspapers. Also, tables and graphs were used in reporting the findings of this study.

3.4 Qualitative data collection method: In-depth Interview

3.4.1 Rationale for Qualitative Research

In order to answer the research questions 3-5, this study employed an in-depth interview. In-depth interview is a qualitative research approach. Qualitative research was used for this study for the following reasons: qualitative research had features to describe the issue with rich details. Also, according to Creswell (2012), qualitative research contained different methods such as, interpretative, naturalistic procedures for exploring the phenomenon. It could help the researchers to conduct the research in a normal setting and allow them to explore a whole picture of the phenomenon by examining words, reports, photos and material (Creswell, 1994). Meanwhile, Shank (2002) defined qualitative research as a shape of systematic empirical investigation into meaning. Though, Denscombe (2010) described the manner for qualitative data analysis as what enables the researchers to classify, compare and regulate the data. Similarly, Cohen et al. (2011) noted that qualitative data analysis had distinct approach with the integration of analysis and explanation through the merging of data collection with data analysis.

In this study, the qualitative approach focused on collecting and analyzing the perceptions of Sudanese editors and journalists on the issues of corruption in Sudan. It also focused on how the external and internal factors affects the newspaper framing of corruption in Sudan. Specifically, to get their response about Sudanese newspaper framing of the issues of corruption in Sudan.

Finally, a qualitative interview is an approach which enables the researcher to examine and understand the opinions and views of the informants over the issue of corruption coverage in Sudan. In this, Robin and Robin (1995), Kvale (1996) confirmed that qualitative interviews help researchers to understand the thinking of the interviewees and their original thoughts.

3.4.2 Research Preparation Process

The first stage of the study is the dual process of development and testing of the interview protocol and interview questions relating to meeting the objectives of the research. This process could help make or halt the procedures. In view of this, the suggestions offered by (McNamara, 2009) was applied. Firstly, together with each of the interviewees the setting and venues with little distraction in the course of the interviews were selected. Secondly, the purpose of the interview was explained to all the interviewees as well as the assurance of confidentiality. And finally, each of the interviewees sought for clarification and gave suggestion they know could help the smooth running of the interview.

Further, having adequately determined the appropriate editors and journalists to be interviewed, the researcher ensured that their contacts are confirmed and appointments with assurances were obtained from each of them. This move was in line with Creswell (2012) who advised on the participants who will be prepared and willing to honestly give their perception on the information or on the story being sought. Also, the researcher was mindful of the need to test and confirm the adequateness of the interview protocol, therefore, the questions were tested with some colleagues who had carried out similar research to make sure that the questions are clear. Also, a pilot test was conducted to ensure that the process is in line with the objective of the study.

Arising from this, all necessary amendments were made on the interviews protocol to ensure more clarity. According to Kvale (2007) embarking on pilot test can assist the researcher in knowing if there are mistakes or other weakness within the interviews design. The interview protocol is designed to elicit answers to all the research questions, but at the same time, all the questions are framed to be flexible and easy to understand. Similarly, follow up questions were listed side by side of the interview questions for easy and adequate response. Creswell (2012) stressed that interview questions should be constructed in such a way to retain participants on focus with their responses to the questions.

3.4.3 Sample design

The selection of the sample for this study was based on purposive sampling procedure. In qualitative research according to Yin (2011) qualitative are mostly examined through purposive sampling. Okely (1994) explained that, in a qualitative study, the representativeness of the sampling is considered paramount rather than the procedures of selecting sampling size. On a similar note, Guest, Bunce and Johnson (2006) noted that, for a research that aims at examining the opinions and studying the involvement of moderately standardized individual, 12 interviewees are considered appropriate. In this study, twenty interviewees of journalists and editors (three journalists or editors from each one of the four Sudanese newspaper's namely; Aldar, Al Intibaha, Assayha and Sudan vision) were selected for the in-depth interview. According to scholars, the selection are held to be adequate for this study (Creswell, 2012; Fuch&ness, 2015; Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006; Morse, 1995; O'reilly & Parker, 2013). Likewise, the final number of the informants was determined when the researcher reached the saturation point in the inquiry. Bearing this in mind, the researcher was tenacious in

interviewing the informants until he was pleased that a saturation point was reached. As such, interviews conducted with the journalists and editors and stopped when the researcher recognized that a saturation point had been reached.

Selecting knowledgeable informants is the most important criteria when studying groups (Blair, Czaja, & Blair, 2013). Consequently, this study adopted the following criteria for selecting participants that were eventually interviewed for this study;

1. The interviewee must have considerable level of skills, experience and expertise in news editorial and news writing for a minimum of two years
2. The interviewee must be consented to participate in the interview.

3.4.4 Data collection

In depth interview was used as supplementary method for the collection of data for this study. In line with this, interview questions were designed open-ended. The interview guide explored the lived experience of editors and journalists on issues of corruption in Sudan. It also allowed the interviewer to ask probing questions as means of follow up. Therefore, the attached interview guide is drafted for the data collection. The interview guide questions are flexible for modification to accommodate responses during and after the interviews. According to Kajornboon (2005) an interview guide encompasses the topic, questions and issues that the researcher wants to cover during the interviews.

In order to have an open and truthful response, the interviewees were informed about the objectives of the study before each interview. Also, the researcher clarified to all the interviewees the confidentiality of information that was given in line with

agreement reached through the consent. Supporting this move, Gill, Stewart, Treasure, and Chadwick (2008) noted that, it would give the interviewees some idea of what to expect from the interview and would increase the prospect of honesty being a fundamental aspect of the informed consent process. All the interviews were recorded using digital voice recorder while notes was also taken during interviews to compliment the voice recording. The tape recording is one of the best devices for gathering an accurate version of any interviews (Creswell, 2012; Yin, 2011).

3.4.5 Data analysis

The data analysis was carried out methodically as listed in Creswell (2012) recommendations. Though, particularly, thematic analysis was used for the analysis of the data. Interview questions was divided into the following themes; corruption, forth state or watchdog, ownership, internal factors and external factor. NVivo 8, a data management software for qualitative data analysis was used to simplify the process of storing, coding, analysis and preparation of graphical representation of data. NVivo 8, being accurate and easier software enables the researcher to handle many different codes with ease, identified different relationships, and enabled diagrams of emerging findings and preparation of the research reports.

The data was systematically carried out in stages. The first stage started with transcribing the interview that were recorded. Subsequently, the interview transcriptions were thoroughly read in order to enable the researcher has an in-depth understanding of the data. Fundamentally, every time the interview transcriptions were read, the pattern of the findings emerged for appropriate qualitative data analysis. According to Basit (2003) it is one of the essential steps used during data analysis to

form and make sense of the data. Therefore, every relevant part of the transcribed data was coded based on the adopted three coding stages; open, axial and selected (Corbin & Strauss, 1990).

The next stage of the coding involved the researcher repeatedly grouping and re-grouping the coded items so as to merge similar themes together and separate unique themes as independent factors. At the end of this stage, the various concepts and terms that formed the fundamental units of the analysis were developed and arranged under appropriate themes. As a result, the thematic analysis of the data produced four themes, which are (1) Ownership influence on corruption (2) Challenges in reporting corruption (3) Environment influence on corruption and (4) Solutions for corruption reporting.

The next stage was the axial coding in which the researcher steadily reviewed the initial themes that were coded in the previous stage. Corbin and Strauss (1990) view axial coding as the process of gathering the data together in new ways by making connections between categories. In other words, in this stage, the researcher collected and arranged the data in a way that drives attention to the connections between the themes, sub-themes and sub- sub themes after the open coding. This relationship or the connection of the themes categories were examined based on the contexts and the informants' experiences.

Finally, the last coding stage adopted was selective coding. Corbin and Struss (1990) identified this stage as this process by which all categories are systematically unified around a fundamental category and filling in categories that need further refinement and development. In this final stage, the researcher completed the data analysis after

selecting the core concepts that emerged from the coded data through open and axial coding, and four main themes were identified and structured. at the end of coding, the first theme generated two sub themes and 6 sub- sub themes, the second theme generated three sub-themes while the third theme generated 4 subthemes, the fourth theme generated 5 subthemes. Thus, through the process, the researcher was able to systematically analyze the data based on the research objectives.

3.4.6 Ethical consideration

The interview proceedings began with obtaining of verbal and written consents from all the interviewees. Similarly, all the interviewees were informed of the study's objectives, methods as well as declaration on confidentiality. The right to privacy and confidentiality was made known to all interviewees prior to the commencement of the interview along with the informed consent to be signed by the interviewees. Similarly, every participants was assured that none of them would be identified by any means whatsoever, before, during or in the analysis of the study.

3.4.7 Interviews protocol/ Interview questions

- 1- What do you think about the corruption issues?
- 2- How often do you cover the issues of corruption in your newspaper?
- 3- Do you think the pattern of ownership influence the coverage of corruption issues?
- 4- In what way will you describe the influence of the ownership on the coverage of issues of corruption?
- 5- Do you think the access to the government information affect the coverage of corruption issues in Sudanese newspapers?

- 6- How does the access to the government information affect the coverage of corruption issues in the newspapers?
- 7- Do you think the working environment affect the reportage of corruption issues in the newspapers?
- 8- How does the working environment affect the reportage of corruption issues in the newspaper?
9. How does it affects the coverage of issues of corruption?
10. What about the economic dimension?
11. Can you propose some solutions for the development of the press industry in Sudan?

Probing question

- 1- Please explain what you observe in newspaper reports or stories that shown the issues of corruption?
- 2- How are issues of corruption reported in newspapers?
- 3- Are you satisfy with the fourth state (watchdog) role of Sudanese newspapers?
- 4- Do you think Sudanese newspaper adequately practice an investigated journalism?
- 5- Through the analysis of the content of a number of Sudanese newspapers, including your newspaper, it is observed that a number of newspapers have published a large number of articles and news on financial corruption, while very little in other newspapers, what are the reasons in your opinion?

3.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter explained the methodology adopted for this study which is the implementation of mixed methods, the explanation of both of quantitative content analysis and qualitative in-depth interview were detailed on its processes and procedures.

In this chapter, the process involved the selection of newspapers for the content analysis and selecting the interviewees for the in-depth interview. For the in-depth

interview, 20 editors and Journalists were interviewed on their perceptions about the framing of corruption issues in Sudanese newspapers.



CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

The results of the quantitative content analysis are presented in this chapter. The chapter entails the description of the measurement count for the selected newspapers in this study. For analyzing the contents of the selected newspapers, the frequencies of framing counts, percentage for prominent indicators of frames and a comparison of the frames employed by the selected newspapers were presented in this chapter. This chapter ends with an interpretation of the findings presented and a summary of the chapter.

4.2 Overview of the Content Analyses Process

One of the main objectives of the present study is to examine the coverage and prominence of financial corruption frames in the selected newspapers in Sudan. As such, the study focuses on the publications of four selected newspapers in Sudan for the period of 12 months ranging from April 2014 to April 2015. The selected newspapers include Aldar, Alintibaha, Assayaha, and Sudan Vision. One of the reasons for choosing newspapers issued between April 2014 and April 2015 was that this period was considered politically intense which supersede the rebellious demonstration that occurred during September, 2013. The Human Rights Watch (2014) described the demonstration as a scrupulous violence which led to massacre, detention, and displacements of a huge number of people. In addition, the sudden rise of financial-related corruption in Sudan preoccupied the public opinion during and

after the September riot. Evidently, the cases of financial corruption in the office of the governor of Khartoum State and the issue of corruption in Sudan Cotton Company occurred during this period. Therefore, this study was motivated to examine the dominant frames and the prominence of the issues of financial corruption in the Sudanese newspapers during the prominent period of corruption in Sudan.

Specifically, this study highlights the coverage, the dominant frames, and the prominence of the issues of financial corruption in the selected Sudanese newspapers. As such, five different types of frames, namely attribution of responsibility, human interest frame, conflict frame, economic consequence frame and morality frame determine the dominant of financial corruption frames in the Sudanese print media. In addition, the prominence of corruption issues was assessed using the page space and news article sizes used for reporting corruption issues in the selected newspapers.

4.3 Content analysis findings

A total of 179 news articles were discovered from the four newspapers: Aldar, Al Intibaha, Assayha and Sudan Vision newspapers. Out of the four newspapers, a total of 494 measurement units (frames count) were identified to answer the two research questions set out for the study.

4.3.1 Identification of the Level of Prominence in the Sudanese Newspapers

To identify the level of prominence given to issues of corruption in the selected Sudanese newspapers, the raw frequencies computed for all 179 unit of analysis (articles) and 494 measurement units (frame counts) in Aldar, Al Intibaha, Assayha and Sudan Vision newspapers showed a considerably higher frequencies of units that

were framed as corruption as shown in Table 4.1. Though the news framing as a whole was corruption oriented, there were marked variations in the four newspapers in terms of the five frames.

This finding is in tandem with the Framing theory which says Framing essentially involves salience and selection, portraying some elements of reality and undermining others (Entman,1993). This portrayal and undermining of elements might affect Sudanese reactions to corruption issue.

Table 4.1

Frequency of Frames Counts by Newspapers and Months

Month	Newspapers				Total
	Al-Dar	Al-Intibaha	Assayaha	Sudan Vision	
Apr 2014	1	0	20	1	22
May 2014	3	13	11	4	31
June 2014	0	6	0	1	7
July 2014	1	1	0	0	2
Aug. 2014	0	7	0	0	7
Sept. 2014	0	4	0	0	4
Oct. 2014	1	2	0	0	3
Nov. 2014	1	3	13	0	17
Dec. 2014	1	12	18	0	31
Jan. 2015	0	7	8	0	15
Feb. 2015	1	10	0	0	11
Mar. 2015	1	3	3	0	7
Apr. 2015	1	17	3	1	22
Total	11	85	76	7	179

4.3.2 Identification of Dominant Frames in the Sudanese Newspapers

Generally, the dominant frame among the four selected newspapers was Responsibility Frame which recorded the highest frequencies with 265 (53.64%), followed by Economic Frame, and Morality Frame with 203 (41.09%) and 24 (4.85%) respectively.

On the other hand, the Human Frame and Conflict Frame recorded the least frequencies with only 1(0.20) for both as demonstrated in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2

Frequency of Dominant Frames by Newspapers

Frame	Newspaper								Total
	Al-Dar		Al-Intibaha		Assayaha		Sudan Vision		
	F	%	F	%	F	%			
Responsibility	10	4	133	50	112	42	10	4	265 (53.64%)
Human	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1(0.20%)
Conflict	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1(0.20%)
Economic	14	7	109	54	78	38	2	1	203 (41.09%)
Morality	0	0	16	67	2	8	6	25	24(4.85%)

On one hand, the high proportion was recorded in Al-Intibaha newspaper, whereas the least proportion was recorded in Sudan Vision newspaper. In Aldar newspaper, the Economic Frame recorded the highest frequencies with 14 (7%), followed by Responsibility Frame with 10 (4%). As for the Al-Intibaha newspaper, the highest numbers were recorded in Responsibility Frame with 33(50%), followed by Economic Frame and Morality Frame with 10(54%) and 16(67%) respectively. The least figure recorded is in the Conflict Frame with 1(100%). As for the Assayaha newspaper, the dominant Frame was Responsibility Frame with 112(42%) followed by Economic Frame 78(38%). On the other hand, the Morality Frame and Human Frame recorded the least frequencies with only 2(8%) and 1(100%) respectively. In the Sudan vision newspaper, the higher frequencies belonged to Responsibility Frame, followed by the Morality frame with 6(25%). On the other hand, the lowest number of frequencies was Economic Frame with only 2(1%).

The data collected presented entirely different trends for each of the four newspapers. For example, the Sudanese newspapers had higher frequencies of Responsibility Frame and Economic Frame. However, these different trends of newspapers are attributed to several reasons; they could be related to the diverse ideologies, vision and mission of the newspapers. For example, Al-Intibaha which was directed towards Responsibility Frame enjoys a readership that is exceeding other newspapers (Elgizouli, 2012). Al-Dar is a Sudanese newspaper that is most popular as tabloid. It calls itself a “social” publication and reports mainly local celebrity gossip, crimes, and scandals to present the news with an exciting way (Spilker, 2012).

In identifying dominant frames, news framing selects corruption images to reinforce particular ways of interpretation of corruption in Sudan. The purpose of such selection is to make some facts and ideas seem superior compared to others. Thus, promoting corruption issues over others.

Corruption frame focuses on attempts of public interest’s affection both directly or indirectly by government members. The news explicitly mentioned or imply the violation of legal norms and/or ethical principles. This context focuses on the reaction or punishment of characters within political organizations at the revelation of a political corruption crisis. This frame could be related to the above when making comparisons between the reactions of the different characters are established.

4.3.3 Dominant Indicators of Frames in Sudanese Newspapers

According to Bantimaroudis and Ban (2008), framing includes dominance. As for Ghanem (1996), the frequency with which a frame or an issue is mentioned in news

story is possibly the most influential framing device and the factor of the dominance. Therefore, a careful analysis of indicators of the five frames “Responsibility framing, human framing, conflict framing, Economic framing and morality framing” that was used in news articles uncovers which frames are most dominant and subsequently illustrates how public perceptions are shown (Bantimaroudis & Ban, 2008). In order to identify the dominant indicators of five frames that are most dominant in the coverage of the Sudanese newspaper on the issues of corruption, this study combined the 494 measurement units from the four newspapers and among all the 19 indicators. The overall findings showed a big contrast between the Frames in terms of the numbers of the frequencies. For example, the Responsibility indicators had 53.64 % that are most dominant, followed by Economic indicators with 41.09 %. On the other hand, Morality indicators had 4.85% and, Human and conflict indicators had only 0.20 %, as presented in Table 4.3.

Framing theory is more effective when the audience gets a message without noticing that frames has been applied in anyway. (Tankard, 2001). The public usually holds on to information from the media to create a picture of happenings and issues of salience. A possibility of the public perceiving that a news story has been framed by the media may affect the whole essence of framing, hence making the public yearn for more information on an event. Gitlin (1980) suggests that frames that are unspoken and unacknowledged organize the world for the journalists who report them and individuals who rely on the information.

4.3.4 Dominant Indicator in Sudanese Newspapers Framing

Table 4.3

Dominant indicators in terms of newspaper framing of corruption issues in the selected newspapers.

Code	Indicators	Newspaper ID				Total
		Al-Dar	Al-Intibaha	Assayaha	Sudan Vision	
RF19	Increase in corruption	0 (0%)	30 (54%)	22 (39%)	4 (7%)	56
RF20	Govt. officials in corruption	10 (7%)	68 (51%)	55 (41%)	1 (1%)	134
RF21	Solution for corruption	0 (0%)	32 (48%)	29 (44%)	5 (8%)	66
RF22	Party responsible for corruption	0 (0%)	3 (33%)	6 (67%)	0 (0%)	9
HF24	Repercussion of corruption	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	1
CF30	Criticizing corruption	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1
EF32	Who involve in corruption	9 (7%)	63 (47%)	60 (45%)	1 (1%)	133
EF33	Financial loss or gain	0 (0%)	35 (80%)	8 (18%)	1 (2%)	44
EF34	Degree of corruption	5 (19%)	11 (42%)	10 (38%)	0 (0%)	26
MF35	Economic consequences	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1
MF36	Tradition supporting corruption	0(0%)	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1
MF37	Social perception of corruption	0 (0%)	14 (64%)	2 (9%)	6 (27%)	22
Total		24 (5%)	259 (52%)	193 (39%)	18 (4%)	494

In contrast, among the five indicators of Responsibility oriented framing, the most dominant is “Government officials in corruption” with 68 counts found in AL-Intibaha newspaper, 55 counts in Assayaha, and 10 counts in AL-Dar, whereas only 1 count was found in the Sudan Vision. The findings revealed that some of the government officials are responsible for corruption in Sudan. This aspect has led to poor supervision and limited action is taken towards the corruption issues in the country. In addition, when the corruption problems spread, the reaction of journalists become weak and unsatisfying. Therefore, these newspapers have limited interests in publishing issues related to corruption.

The second most dominant indicator across the four newspapers was Economic framing as revealed by “who involve in corruption” which appeared in 63 counts in AL-Intibaha newspaper, as shown in Table 4.3. The Assayaha newspaper reported that the indicator “who involve in corruption.” was mentioned 60 counts, whereas AL-Dar reported that it occurred 9 times. This indicator “who involve in corruption” explains the aspect when a news article attributes a story that includes two or more sides who are involved in corruption only without consideration for others. Hence, according to Shinar (2008), the more the newspaper framing appears to be frequent on this indicator, the more it encourages a trend related to these issues.

The additional dominant indicator is “Solution for corruption” with 32 appearances in AL-Intibaha, followed by Assayaha with 29 and Sudan Vision with 5. The next dominant indicator is “Increase in corruption” with 30 appearances in AL-Intibaha, followed by Assayaha with 22 and 4 in the Sudan Vision. Another dominant indicator is “financial losses or gains” with 35 appearances in AL-Intibaha, followed by Assayaha with 8. As a dominant indicator in the Sudanese newspapers, differences in framing is a way of stimulating people to corruption issues with tendency to make or intensify anti-corruption campaign.

“Degree of corruption” follows the most dominant indicator found in the framing of corruption issues in the selected newspapers. AL-Intibaha newspaper presented the highest frames about degree of corruption with 11 counts, followed by Assayaha newspaper with 10 counts, and 5 counts in AL-Dar newspaper. Emphasis on the degree of corruption is identified since the Sudanese newspapers focused on issues of corruption to create a public opinion against corruption among the Sudanese people.

In addition, the following dominant indicator found in the framing of corruption issues among the selected newspapers is “Social perception of corruption”. AL-Intibaha newspaper presented the highest frequencies for frames about Social perception of corruption with 14 counts, followed by the Sudan Vision with 6, and the Assayaha newspaper with 2 only counts.

The least dominant indicator across the four newspapers is the frame on “Party responsible for corruption” of which 6 counts appeared in Assayaha and 3 counts in AL-Intibaha. Table 4.3 presents more details about the findings related to these frames and the similarities and or differences between the four newspapers.

4.3.4.1 Dominant Indicator in Responsibility Framing in Sudanese Newspapers

In contrast, responsibility framing indicators across the four newspapers showed a slightly less count of 134 related to Government officials in corruption, followed by Solution for corruption with 66, Increase in corruption with 56, and finally, Party responsible for corruption with only 9 as illustrated in Table 4.3.

4.3.4.2 Dominant Indicator in Economic Framing in Sudanese Newspapers

In Economic frame, the dominant indicators among the selected newspapers presented those who involved in corruption with 133, followed by financial loss or gain with 44, and degree of corruption with 26 as shown in Table 4.3.

4.3.4.3 Dominant Indicator in Morality Framing in Sudanese Newspapers

As for morality framing, the dominant indicators were Social perception of corruption presented with 22, followed by Economic consequences and Tradition supporting corruption with only 1. These findings are demonstrated in Table 4.3.

4.3.5 Identification of the level of the prominence in Sudanese Newspapers

According to Cissel (2012), the Agenda Setting Theory states that the news media have a large influence on audience. Hence, news companies and journalists have the ability to dictate what stories are considered newsworthy and how much prominence and space they are allocated. As for the present study, the level of prominence was measured by the length of news article. This was determined by the column inches, lines and size. Precisely, the following parameters were used to determine the length of news articles (1 – 9 Columns, More than 10 columns but less than half (1/2) of a page, half a page, more than half but less than one page, full page, more than one page). In addition, the position of the news article was determined in terms of the front page, back page and inside page.

Borrowing from the Agenda Setting Theory, the Sudanese newspapers may have succeeded in determining the agenda through extensive coverage and articles on the corruption cases in Sudan, which further prompted massive reactions.

4.3.5.1 Space Allotted to Issues of Corruption in Sudanese Newspapers

In relation to this study, space allotted to issues of corruption is referred to the amount of space an issue about corruption in the AL-Dar, AL-Intibaha and Assayaha Sudan vision is given in a particular story; in other words, the lengths of stories published in these newspapers. Therefore, lengths of stories were measured in the number of column as well as the page length in the three newspapers. Table 4.4 shows space allotted to issues in the Sudanese newspapers. Meanwhile, space allocation has to do with the over-all area assigned to corruption articles on the pages of the newspapers. The breakdown of the allocation are as follows: stories that occupies 1-9 Column A, if it is 10 + column but less than $\frac{1}{2}$ a page, Half a page, More than $\frac{1}{2}$ but less than a page, One page and More than one page.

Table 4.4

Allocated space for issues of corruption in each of the selected newspaper

Newspaper	1-9 Column	10+ column but less than $\frac{1}{2}$ a page	Half a page	More than $\frac{1}{2}$ but less than a page	One page	More than one page	Total
AL-Dar	11	0	0	0	0	0	11
AL-Intibaha	57	9	3	11	7	0	87
Assayaha	48	9	1	5	9	2	74
Sudan vision	7	0	0	0	0	0	7
Sub-Total	123	18	4	16	16	2	179
%	68.72%	10.06%	2.23%	8.94%	8.94%	1.11%	100%

Based on Table 4.4, it is clear that the majority (123= 68.72%) on the report of issues of corruption in the four newspapers was less prominent with (1-9) Column, followed by (10 column but less than half) page, (more than half a page but less than one page), and with 18 (10.06 %) for both. The more prominent Space recorded only 2 (1.11%) which was represented by less figures. On the other hand, the second prominence of

the space (one page) recorded the third highest in figures with 16 represented (8.94%), followed by (half) a page with only 4 (2.23%).

The frame changing pattern on the space allocated reflects the active nature of the event and the media's effort to control the public agenda. Chyi and McCombs (2004) notes that framing is not about every aspect or attribute of an object, only its dominant characteristics. The Sudanese newspapers emphasized the corruption frame dominantly over the other issues frame in Sudan.

4.3.5.2 Placement of the Stories in Sudanese Newspapers

Table 4.5 presents an explanation of the position for stories that focus on the issues of corruption in the four selected newspapers.

Table 4.5

Placement of the Stories

Newspaper	Front page	Back page	Inside page	Total
AL-Dar	7	0	4	11
AL-Intibaha	34	2	49	85
Assayaha	42	0	33	75
Sudan vision	2	0	6	8
Total	85	2	92	179
%	47.49%	1.12%	51.40%	100%

Based on Table 4.5 it is clear that the majority (92 = 51.40%) on the report of issues of corruption in the four newspapers was less prominent (Inside) pages. On the other hand, the more prominent pages (Front pages) have 85 (47.49%) placement.

4.3.6 Discussion of content analysis findings

4.3.6.1 The level of prominence given to issues of corruption in the Sudanese newspapers

One of the pertinent questions that the study posed was; What is the level of the prominence given to issues of corruption in the Sudanese newspaper? Therefore, in order to achieve this set objective, the level of prominence was measured by the length of news article. This was determined by the column inches, lines and size. Precisely, the following parameters were used to determine the length of news articles (1 – 9 Columns, More than 10 columns but less than half (1/2) of a page, half a page, more than half but less than one page, full page, more than one page). In addition, the position of the news article was determined in terms of the front page, back page and inside page.

Thus, based on the findings from the content analysis, the level of prominence given to issues of corruption in the selected Sudanese newspapers, the raw frequencies computed for all 179 unit of analysis (articles) and 494 measurement units (frame counts) in Aldar, Al Intibaha, Assayha and Sudan Vision newspapers displayed a considerably higher frequencies of units that were framed as corruption. The measurement frame of prominence was shown in Table 4.1.

The current study provides an imperative insight into how newspapers report about corruption in Sudan. Therefore, the research shows that newspaper handling of corruption issues in terms of prominence given it is significant to the stoppage of corruption in Sudan. In order to examine the issue and achieve the objective,

prominence was examined from the angles of placement and space given to corruption stories in sampled newspapers in Sudan.

4.3.6.2 The dominant frames used to cover the issues of corruption in Sudanese newspapers

Another objective set out for this study was to identify the dominant frames used to cover the issues of corruption in Sudanese newspapers. Based on this objective therefore, the dominant frame among the four selected newspapers was Responsibility Frame which recorded the highest frequencies with 265 (53.64%), followed by Economic Frame, and Morality Frame with 203 (41.09%) and 24 (4.85%) respectively. On the other hand, the Human Frame and Morality Frame recorded the least frequencies with only 1(0.20) for both as demonstrated in Table 4.2.

In contrast, the study discovered that a high proportion was recorded in Al-Intibaha newspaper, whereas the least proportion was recorded in Sudan Vision newspaper. In Aldar newspaper, the Economic Frame recorded the highest frequencies with 14 (7%), followed by Responsibility Frame with 10 (4%). As for the Al-Intibaha newspaper, the highest numbers were recorded in Responsibility Frame with 33(50%), followed by Economic Frame and Morality Frame with 10(54%) and 16(67%) respectively. The least figure recorded is in the Conflict Frame with 1(100%). As for the Assayaha newspaper, the dominant Frame was Responsibility Frame with 112(42%) followed by Economic Frame 78(38%). On the other hand, the Morality Frame and Human Frame recorded the least frequencies with only 2(8%) and 1(100%) respectively. In the Sudan vision newspaper, the higher frequencies belonged to Responsibility Frame, followed by the Morality frame with 6(25%). On the other hand, the lowest number of frequencies was Economic Frame with only 2(1%).

4.4 QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.4.1 Introduction in depth interview

This section of the study two discusses the qualitative data analysis which is built on data collected from in-depth interviews that were conducted with 20 participants. The analysis presents answer to the research questions 3, 4, and 5. The interviews were conducted from June through September, 2017. The main purpose of this chapter is to evaluate and probe one of the crucial factors in the coverage of corruption issues in order to understand how essentially the newspaper framing has served as an important factor in shedding light on the extent of press freedom and the impact of the owners of press institutions, the working environment, and the economic factor on press coverage. This chapter started with an introduction by discussing the interview protocol, thematic analysis of the interview using NVivo 10 qualitative research software and ends with the presentation of findings of the study.

Table 4.6

Informants' Background

Informants' Codes	Newspapers	Position
Informant 1	AL-Intibaha	Journalist
Informant 2	AL-Intibaha	Journalist
Informant 3	AL-Intibaha	Journalist
Informant 4	AL-Intibaha	Journalist
Informant 5	AL-Intibaha	Journalist
Informant 6	AL-Intibaha	Editor
Informant 7	Assyha	Journalist

Informant 8	Assyha	Journalist
Informant 9	Assyha	Journalist
Informant 10	Assyha	Journalist
Informant 11	AL-Dar	Editor
Informant 12	AL-Dar	Editor
Informant 13	AL-Dar	Editor
Informant 14	Sudan Vision	Journalist
Informant 15	Sudan Vision	Journalist
Informant 16	AL-Intibaha	Editor
Informant 17	Assyha	Editor
Informant 18	Assyha	Editor
Informant 19	Sudan Vision	Journalist
Informant 20	AL-Dar	Journalist

Based on the data collected from the 20 participants across the four newspapers, the results in figure 4.1 show that the highest number is recorded by Al-Dar with 3 editors followed by Al-Intibaha and Assayaha with 2 for both, whereas the Sudan Vision recorded the least number with only 1. However, the highest numbers of the journalists across the four newspapers were recorded in Al-Intibaha with 5 journalists, followed by Assayaha and Sudan Vision with 4 and 2 respectively, and the least number was recorded in Al-Dar with only 1. The interviews were conducted in an attempt to provide answers to the research questions on the causes of newspaper's framing of corruption issues to improve the challenges faced by journalists in reporting corruption in Sudan. The time, date as well as venue for the interview were arranged by the researcher and the participants were selected based on their availability. However,

consistent with the above processes, figure 4.1 shows the main theme with its secondary-themes and subthemes with regards to the framing of corruption issues in Sudan.

The Main Theme

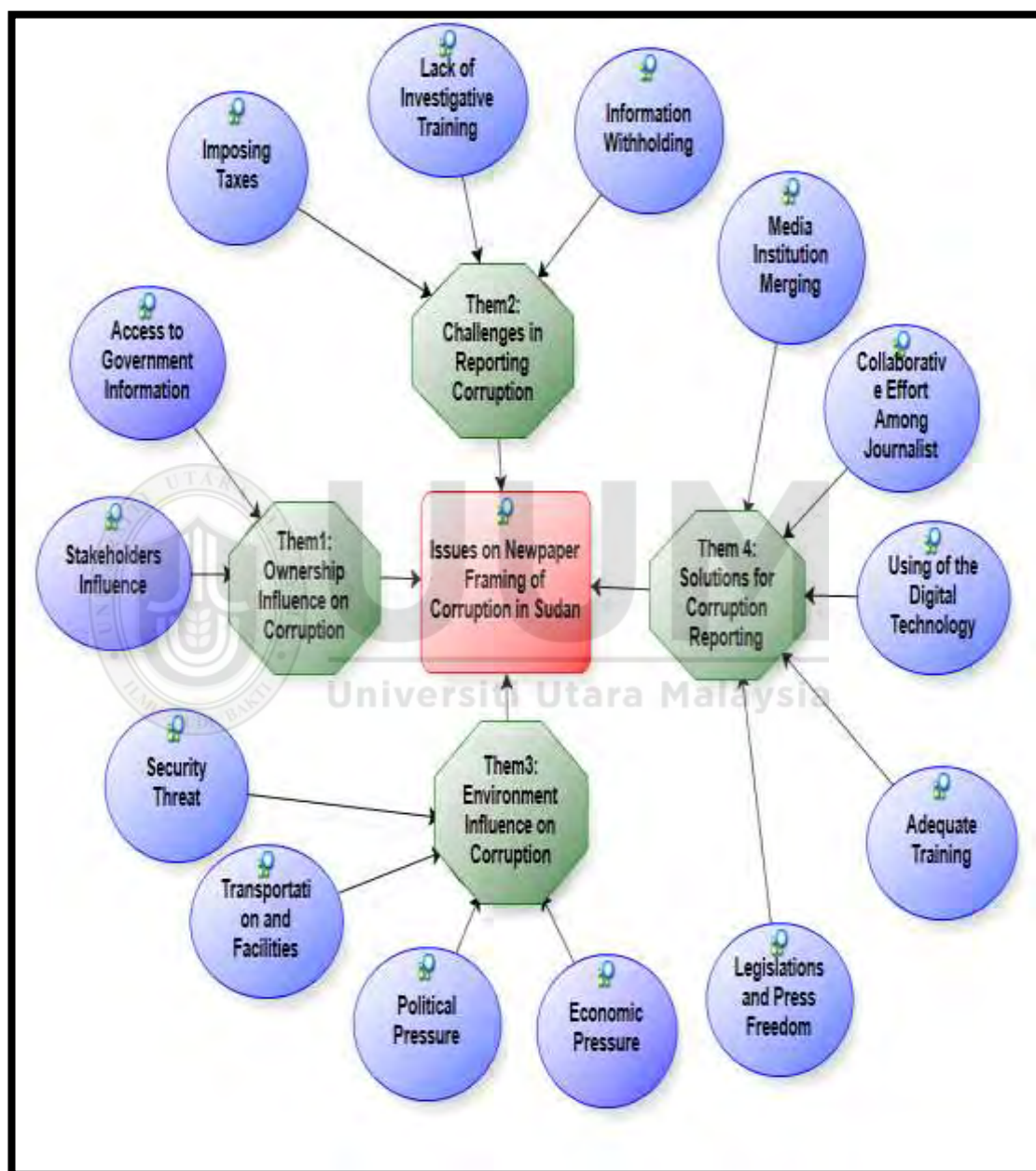


Figure 4.1. The emerged themes, sub-themes and sub sub-themes on newspapers framing of corruption in Sudan

4.4.2 Theme One: Ownership Influence on Corruption

Like many other countries of the third world, Sudan sovereign states adopt the broadcasting media as a political propaganda tool and are keenly interested in keeping these techniques under their control rather than their opposition's control. Meanwhile, on the ownership influence on corruption, Djankov, McLiesh, Nenova, Shleifer (2003) revealed that state ownership of the media has a tendency to have a negative influence on a broad number of important metrics including the degree of press freedom, the level of political and economic freedom and most importantly how to report corruption.

Another reason for the centralized control of the media is the relative lack of literacy throughout the region. Radio and television can overcome the problem of illiteracy, and are often used as a government arm to direct and control the public (Amin & Boyd, 1993). Hence, most state-owned Arab radio and television systems are funded by the advertising revenues. In other words, Arab governments attempt to exploit the radio and the television as tools to increase their citizens' patriotism and make developments in several domains (Ghar & Amin, 1999).

According to the Press and Publications Law of 2009, parties, companies, political organizations, social or scientific bodies, or government units as well as foreign communities are allowed to own their own media institutions including newspapers (NCPP, 2016a). The law requires the owner to allocate a percentage of the funds of his press establishment to spend on the training of journalists working for him and the adoption of conditions of service rewarding to journalists working under the Sudanese labor laws (NCPP, 2016). Explaining this further, Figure 4.2 shows the ownership's

influence on corruption with its secondary themes and subthemes which include access to information (government control, problem of data storage) and stakeholders' influence (government ownership problem, government threat, private ownership problem and advertisers and economic interests).

Theme One

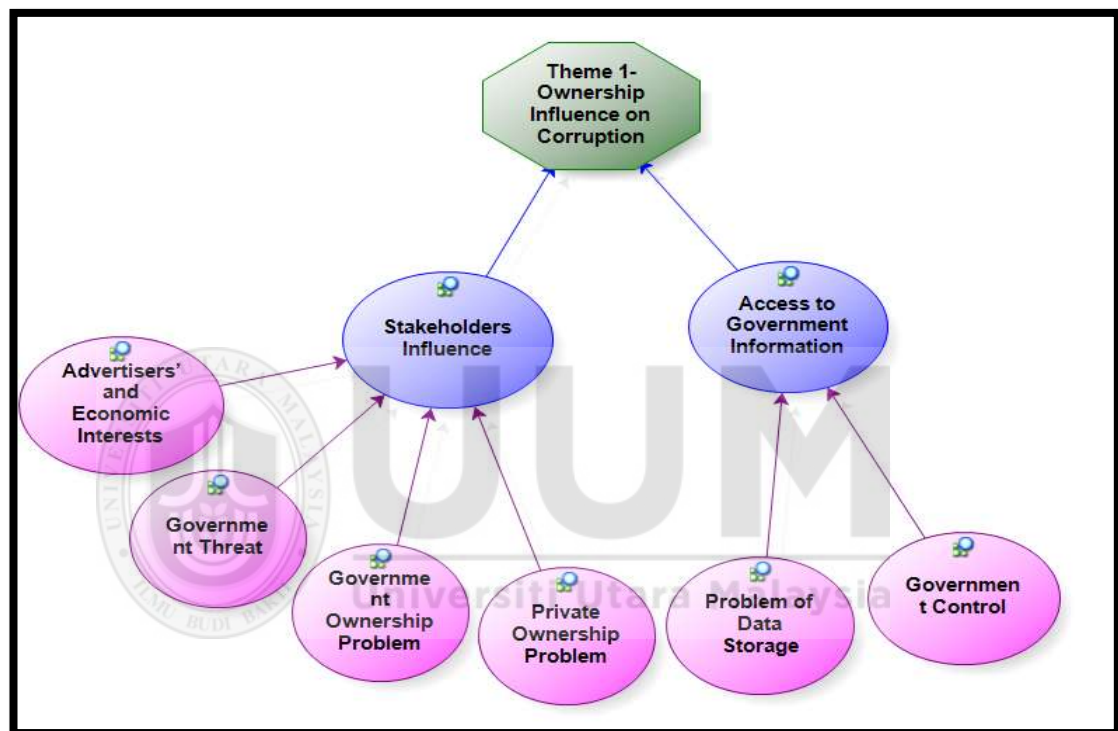


Figure 4.2. Ownership influence on corruption on with its secondary themes and subthemes

4.4.2.1 Stakeholders' Influence

One of the greatest influences on newspaper activities are the stakeholders. Therefore, it is a drawback to think that media relation is as a linear process which looks at media performance from the perspective of the journalist and his audience. This gives the impression that the media are only responsible to those who read newspapers, watch television or listen to radio. This informed the reason for this study focus on some

critical stakeholders without which the practice of journalism will be difficult if not impossible. For the newspaper to be an effective force against corruption, its members must have an incentive as well as the support of the stakeholders to uncover corruption (Houston, Chen Lin & Yue Ma, 2011). Therefore, what inspires the media? As with all news agents, newspaper firms make key decisions based on the perceived costs and benefits. In deciding which stories to pursue, newspapers arguably want to attract the largest possible audience.

Media controlled by stakeholder societies and peoples or “stakeholder media,” can exercise a powerful impact on the strategic agendas of companies. Stakeholder media can be different, and in some ways their influence is stronger than the traditional news media (Hunter, Van Wassenhove, Besiou, & Van Halderen, 2013). Stakeholder media are defined as media created and controlled by groups of stakeholders with the goal of affecting public opinion about issues or organizations (Hunter et al., 2013; Meraz, 2011). This phenomenon of spreading media owned and controlled by special societies or interest was predicted by researchers over a decade (Shaw, McCombs, Weaver, & Hamm, 1999).

The media ownership is used to achieve purposes or results that allow them to support specific agendas or ideologies; these strategies are based on specific characteristics of media that are different from the traditional media. These communication materials have changed the vitality of stakeholder’s involvement from a single point of view, allowing them greater autonomy with effective cooperation rather than depending on traditional media. This also involved the cooperation with other stakeholders, thus expanding the potential and motivation of their adversaries. There are significant risks

and opportunities for institutions by the media concerned (Hunter et al., 2013). Stakeholders who resisted these campaigns through their own media aimed at influencing the strategic priorities of a particular organization and shaping the existing strategies.

In media studies, these processes are part of the agenda-setting. At the first level, the agenda takes place when the media tells its users what matters to them, and in general, more attention is paid to the news story of the media whenever it seems important to the public. At the second level, that is the less explicit level, media tell their public how to think about specific issues (Carroll & McCombs, 2003; McCombs, 2005). The stakeholders' influence has four subthemes generated from the interviews:

1. Advertiser and Economic Interests.
2. Government Threat.
3. Government Ownership Problem.
4. Private Ownership Problem

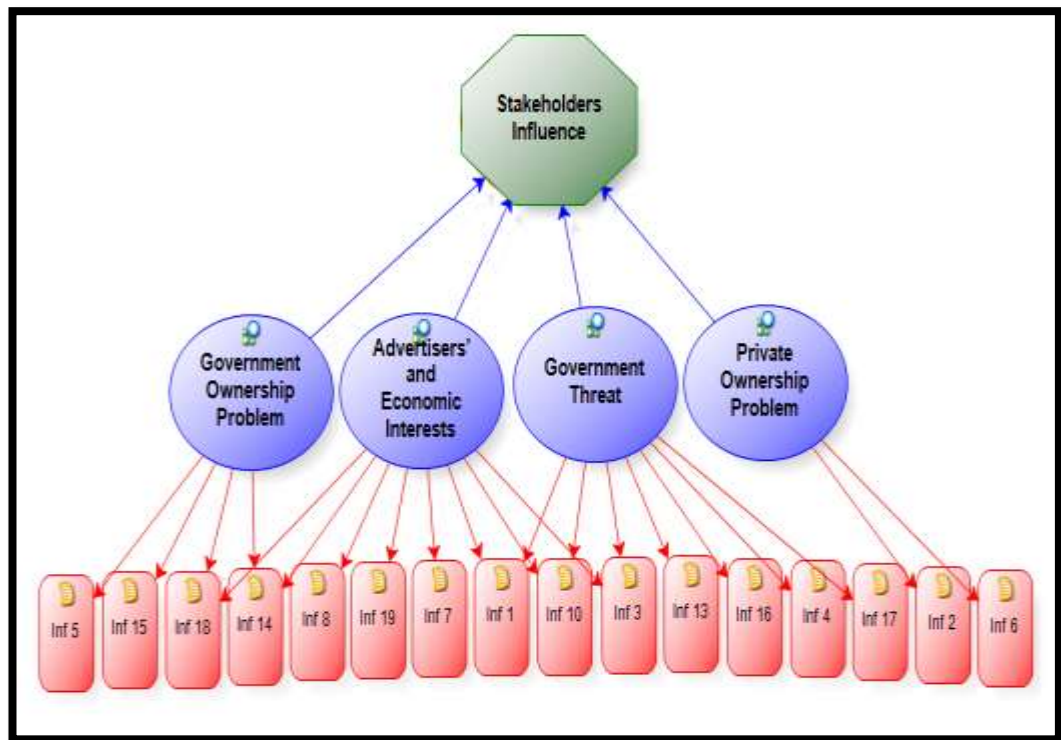


Figure 4.3. Categories of stakeholder's influence that emerged

4.4.2.1a Advertiser and Economic Interests

News reporting, no doubt, contributes to socio-economic development and therefore, attracts a lot of interests. The media, with their integrative and dissemination abilities (Boadu, 1981), have molded the socio-economic change of societies and by extension affected the advertising circle. Based on this, advertising and economic interests are among the most important issues that have sprout from the interviews as an important part of the influence of stakeholders. Therefore, Figure 4.3 shows the categories of stakeholder's influence that emerged from the data.

The views below show the participants' perceptions of the advertiser and economic influence on the issue of ownership's influence on corruption. According to Informant 1 the influence is noted thus:

It is certain that advertising is one of the most important financial sources of the newspaper. If the newspaper is suspended for a day or two, the advertising will be blocked from this newspaper in this period, which negatively affects the income of the owner and the salaries of journalists. (Informant 1)

In addition, informant 3 observed:

Yes, if the issue of corruption touches something that belongs to the owner. For example, if the newspaper is owned by a sport person or a politician and the issue of corruption belongs to a party that concerns him, for example, he may intervene in the levels of the newspaper's editing, and if a pharmacist and the case concerns him, he may refrain from publishing this case. (Informant 3)

Corroborating this perception, informant 8 said:

The pattern of ownership has a clear effect if the corrupted institution has relations with the owner of the newspaper's certainly that will make him turn a blind eye to the press coverage of corruption issues in that institution itself or perhaps address these issues in another way that does not affect the interests of that institution. (Informant 8)

By sharing similar views, informants 10, 14, 18 and 19 highlighted that newspapers rely mainly for their income on advertising and with the scarcity of advertising and the use of the state to act as a weapon in the face of newspapers, which makes the government earn some of these newspapers while losing the loyalty of others. Similarly, for example, informant 14 stated:

Due to weakness of the possibilities and because of the financial issues faced by most newspapers, we find that the policy of the owners in editing newspapers made the press sometimes deal with corruption issues in a way that is not serious so as not to reduce the circulation that may lead to reduce the advertisement and other income sources and one of the factors affecting the work of the press. We can say that the economic situation and financial situation and lack of resources

can affect the performance of newspapers, criticism, and disclosure of corruption issues. (Informant 14)

Nowadays media plays an important role in the success of democracy; they convey a large amount of information, along with their contents and analyses which could be a valuable source for decision makers for legislation, policies and for citizens as voters to elect their governments (Besley & Burgess, 2002; Dunaway, 2008). Previous studies showed that there is a negative relationship between the advertisement of the government on a particular newspaper and its coverage of the issues of corruption. Hence, the advertiser in general has a significant influence on the newspaper's coverage of the issues of corruption. Consequently, newspapers' owners considerably take cognizance of the power of advertisers (Di Tella & Franceschelli, 2011).

4.4.2.1b Government Threat

Like other African countries, Sudan system of government is closer to the authoritarian, where there is almost a complete control of what is published in the media. Although the press enjoys a margin of freedom, there are many red lines that journalists cannot skip (Okwuchukwu, 2014). In line with the scholars' perception this study's informants also corroborated as shown in Figure 4.3 indicating the categories of stakeholder's influence that emerged.

The findings showed the informants' 3 and 4 perceptions on the government threat in relation to the Ownership's Influence on Corruption issues. For instance, informant 1 said, "If a person has influence, he or she may interfere in the coverage of financial corruption cases sometimes". Supporting the view above, other informants observed:

The journalist is exposed to a number of problems that may threaten the journalist and affect their coverage of corruption issues. In the case of not to publish the issues, particularly if the newspaper is loyal to the government; it certainly has many warnings. (Informants 3)

Similarly, on the government ownership problem, Informant 10 also observed thus:

The owners also have the power to remain in power through the formation of an authoritarian system that preserves this pattern and maintains its status in the existing authority and carries out all orders that come to him by the central government or local. Therefore, the owners of the newspapers in recent time have been running these newspapers for their own benefit rather than the public interest of the Sudanese society. Hence, the press has lost its professional task. In the past, the press has been working professionally and transparently. However, the press has been exploited by the owners, traders, and the government. (Informant 10)

In a different perception, informant 13 observed that:

The Auditor-General provides integrated reports on financial and administrative corruption to date. We have not heard that a person has been accounted for the Auditor General's reports, and all cases of financial corruption have been withdrawn either by presidential intervention or the intervention of the Minister of Justice or the intervention of secretaries. The report of the Auditor General each year refers to the high proportion of financial and administrative corruption, and accounting reports do not guarantee and do not reap the hunger because the principle of accounting is disabled. (Informant 13)

In another perspective, informant 16 expresses a different view in terms of the ownership's influence on the corruption issues on government threat. According to him: "The owner never interferes in the editorial work and his responsible for any loss" (Informant 16). However, supporting the above view, informant 17 said:

I do not think that the pattern of ownership influences the coverage of corruption, but I think that the whole country now has an independent press, more than a press that can be mostly or simply a government, but all sectors of the press are trying to discuss corruption issues clearly and without leaving a stone unturned. (Informant 17)

4.4.2.1 c Government Ownership Problem

The main media in the African continent including Sudan are State-owned public media institutions. Consequently, most journalists working in state media have no independence in publishing, reporting or editorial policy. They serve as civil workers who have very little freedom and are forced to follow fully, the government authorities (Baglo, 2008). In respect of this, some of the informants expressed their views as shown in Figure 4.3 indicating the informants' perceptions of the government's ownership problem on corruption issues.

The views below show the informants' perceptions of the government's ownership and the problem on corruption issues. According to informant 1:

Yes of course, I think that the pattern of ownership influences the coverage of corruption because there are a lot of newspapers owned by government agencies that keep journalists and the press establishment bound by laws, obligations and plans, whereby they cannot overcome. This leads us to the issue of mouth washing and lack of press freedom. The journalist is not free. What the government and most newspaper owners follow in one way or another hinders the process of investigating and deciding on corruption cases, which is completely negative. (Informant 1)

Likewise, informant 15 shared a similar view on the problems that emanate as a result of government ownership thus:

It is certain that the newspapers differ from the governmental to non-governmental newspapers due to the ownership of the newspaper if the

newspaper is owned by the state or the private sector and according to the view of the newspaper and its vision of the topic and this is important whether dealing with such issues or not, this depends on the ownership of the newspaper. (Informant 15)

While corroborating this view, informant 18 expressed that:

This may be so, especially if the owners of the newspapers are active in the government or ministers or influential in the state. But if the owner of the newspaper (the publisher) is independent and impartial, I do not think in this case the ownership of newspapers will affect the editorial or the publication of the publication of corruption issues. If the owner of the newspaper or the publisher has a constitutional or executive position in the government and is effectively affected by the publication of the corruption cases personally or by his subordinates, then he will be his main case before the issue of public opinion. (Informant 18)

In contrast, informant 14 made comprehensive disclosure on the ownership problem thus:

There are no clear interventions by the newspaper owner; it is rarely that we can find that there are interventions from the board of directors or the owner of newspaper in the work of the daily press, this can happen only sometimes. When a large issue takes place that may expose the newspaper to trials. They are always far from technical issues in the sense that they are interested in investing more than their professional understanding. They have these newspapers as a part of their resources and investment rather than journalism in their true sense. Although our newspaper is owned by the state, in Sudan Vision, we have freedom of writing since the beginning of the establishment of this newspaper. No one has ever been prevented from publishing a subject or news. This is one of the things we have never experienced since the establishment of the newspaper. Even if it is a violation of the government, it is not prevented because it is seen that the press is to show and identify and illuminate the way for the leaders. Hence, when the news criticizes the

government, this is the government's praise and not squatting them. The government must take care of this because those who guide defects are better than those who abstain from revealing. (Informant 14)

4.4.2.1 d Private Ownership Problem

Communication researchers (Bagdikian, 2000; McChesney, 2000; Herman & Chomsky, 2002), are worried that private ownership, that particularly focus on media organizations, has generated widespread debate at the public level. When newspapers are independent in their ownership, they are probably free to follow the wishes they have, which may be motivated by a passion for profit, ideology or interest in the civil society. The media, especially newspapers, are the public sources of news that deal with local or regional affairs, such as crime, arts, local government, taxes, and prices (Rosenstiel et al., 2011). However, these newspapers are often reluctant to criticize the government or the government officials for ideological reasons. This may also reveal the unwillingness to anger the government as one of the largest advertisers who pay money to these newspapers. Thus, one can say the profit determines the editorial policy.

In this regard, Herman argues that the owners of private sector companies, especially the major media owners, prefer their own economic interests that concern the markets in which they are a part and who are the main beneficiaries. Although there is a debate about how owners influence the behavior and performance of the media, the media are approaching advertisers and seeking to resolve them, and are also involved in developing relationships with sources of information and avoiding conflict with powerful circles (E. Herman, 2002).

Contrary to what the owners of the newspapers say, there are other ideal goals; the most important three goals for newspaper owners can be identified as gain profit, supporting and disseminating a specific ideological or political stream, and working for the benefit of the public through the adoption of independent and targeted news coverage (Ohlsson, 2012). Similarly, Figure 4.3 shows the informants' perceptions regarding the private ownership's problem.

The views below show informant 2 perceptions regarding the private ownership problem on corruption issues. He therefore explained stating that:

The owner of the newspaper cannot prevent the publication of an article or information if it is affixed to the evidence and documents in the newspaper, especially if the journalist is owned by a businessman who is not in the field of press work. (Informant 2)

Similarly, informant 6 supports the view mentioned above in this way:

Yes, to some extent, because most of the owners of the newspapers or so-called publishers (owners) are businessmen who are part of the community and part of the existing economic intersections, and influential leaders. The ownership of the newspapers has had a negative impact on the issues of corruption. However, apparently it is not noticed that the newspaper's owners do not interfere with what is published in the newspaper, even if it was against him. (Informant 6)

4.4.2.2 Access to Government Information

The concept of access to government information as a human right and for a journalist in particular, is one of the latest developments in the global trend in this context which was reinforced by the presence of a global movement. This movement is now calling for transparency and enhanced access to government information. It also calls for

limiting the government control and hindering access to information. According to Camaj (2013) access to information on the part of the people is essential to safeguarding against corruption and abuses of power. Deprived of it, democratic structures cannot operate as they should then individuals are left unable to apply their rights. According to Pope (2000) the major vehicle for taking information to the public is an autonomous and free media. The media can contribute to the fight against corruption by presenting the public with truthful information about efforts in anti-corruption reform. Figure 4.4 below shows the informants' perceptions on access to information with its subthemes.

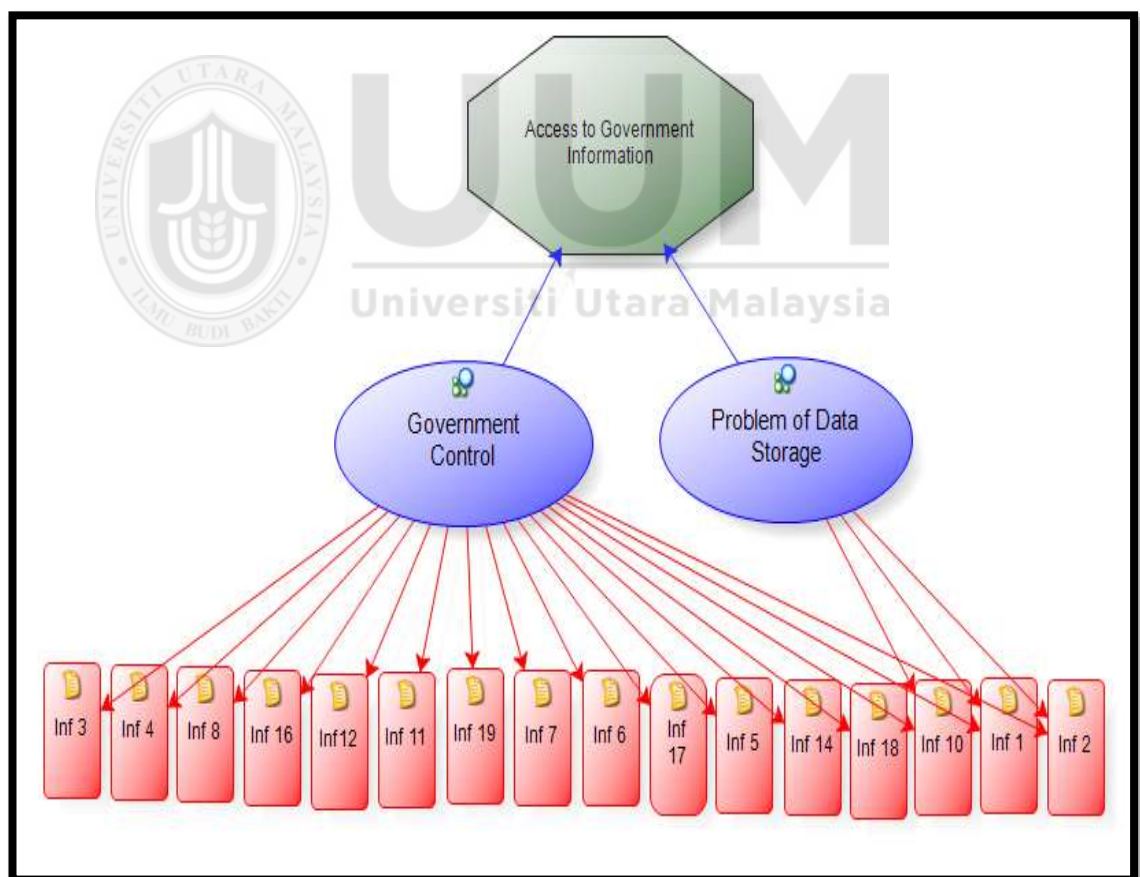


Figure 4.4. Access to Government Information

4.4.2.2a Government Control

Although access to information can be viewed in principle as an idea that is inherent in the democratic environment, it does not guarantee in any way the full expression of it. The right to access government information as a vital idea remains controversial (Scrollini, 2015). According to Roberts (2014), there is new pressure and enmity against the right to access government information with various justifications, such as security concerns, the fight against terrorism, the preservation of national unity, and ensuring justice in the courts. Therefore, Figure 4.4 shows the informants' perceptions regarding the government's control of information and corruption issues.

The views below show the informants' perceptions regarding the government's control of corruption issues. For instance, informant 1 explained the following view: "Sometimes, the newspaper that publishes financial corruption cases is banned as a punishment. Also, if a newspaper deals with the coverage of corruption cases frequently, some government institutions may be looking for other alternative ways to stop publishing". Similar to informant 1, was the perception of Informant 2 who expressed thus: "Government institutions or officials do not give you information, but they block it from you. However, the journalist depends on his own resources with his journalistic skills; he can obtain all the information he needs and the documents required".

Expressing the same perception, informant 3 disclosed thus: "Access to information is very difficult to obtain and the journalist is exposed to a number of problems that may be threatening to the journalist and affect the issue of publishing the case". In the same way, informant 4 also shared thus:

Sure, the government is blind to this news. The government has established a mechanism to combat corruption. It has virtually disappeared, and the government itself is not able to fight corruption, so the journalist goes to his own sources to find out corruption cases. (Informant 4)

Expressing his perception in a similar manner, Informant 5 shared that:

The government does not have all the ideas that make you discuss the issues of financial corruption in your newspaper. In addition, the government offices are blocking the access to their information and control the journalists' writings and this is usually done through the editorial department in one way or another. (Informant 5)

Also holding similar view, Informant 6 stated that:

This is because it is an institution that suffers from a problem of financial corruption that has an interest in disseminating the matter. Therefore, it is keen to conceal this information. Journalists who are interested in these cases often rely on information from outside their closed circles, the judiciary and lawyers who are particularly protected by the Press and Publications Act. For example, if we need to inquire about certain facts, such as corruption, Hajj and Umrah. This institution cannot give you its files, its excesses and corruption in order not to distort its image in public. Thus, searching for its problems through your knowledge of the nature of its work will lead to have information in the agencies of Hajj and Umrah. When the information is obtained, and the irregularities and discrimination that happen to them are sometimes encountered by the concerned administration, it is forced to respond because it is afraid to publish information about it and did not give it the opportunity to respond. The person who is afraid that he is coming out of the information, he is a member of the group or the administration that has corruption. He asks for the protection of the source and the protection that is present in the law. The journalist gives this information and when he walks to the official and says that I have documented information, I expect many newspapers to follow the

professional approach because if the speech is not documented, the newspaper will be exposed to mazes, trials and sanctions that could lead to its closure. (Informant 6)

Similarly, while reiterating the earlier perceptions about ownership problem in Sudan, informant 7 noted that:

If there is a government institution with financial corruption, it is difficult to obtain information from that institution, which negatively affects press coverage of issues of financial corruption because the journalist cannot publish such sensitive issues if he does not have the information documented with the evidence. In general, we can say that there is a secrecy about the information because they do not want this information to reach the public. This, in turn, will lead to the failure of the press to find the constant information. (Informant 7)

This perception was equally confirmed by Informant 8 who supported the view by sharing similar ideas:

Yes, because if you do not get the information, you will not be able to cover the corruption issues in your newspaper. You may not be able to obtain information through the institution, where the corruption occurs. However, there is a chance if a difference between the staff occurred in that institution and the information and documents that support it will be released to the newspapers. Usually, the accident plays a better role if there is a difference between employees in the institution in which financial corruption occurs from the closer circles to the influential people. If there is an inconsistency between staff in their interests in that institution, in this case, the information will take its way to the newspapers. (Informant 8)

In line with scholars on views Informant 10 compared the situation in Sudan with the situation in developed countries observing that:

We find that they lack the simplest information that relates to all the information, whether information on the side of revenue and exchange and the resulting imbalance in the accounts that goes to other pockets may be called too many labels. However, in democratic countries, there is freedom to own information for the press. There is free press that follows the democratic and professional approach. It does not care too much about revenue, so that it is not controlled by the power because it is a press emanating from institutions and from a climate in which there is total freedom and in which democracy means constitutions and laws governing the regimes in those democratic countries. Also, laws supervise the media and laws oversee all other aspects; therefore, there is a great sale of free access to information, but in the developing countries, non-democratic which are subject to repressive laws, we find that the majority of information is not written. That is, information becomes verbal if we say that the information is not available not because of the lack of information or restrictions on information, but because the information is basically oral rather than documented. Information is not written and it is oral; therefore, in developing countries such as Sudan, even if you have the information, it will be incomplete, and you will find it in the name of the person who gives you the information that is made for his own benefit. (Informant 10)

Raising salient point, Informant 11 expressed his concerns about the documented evidence that supports the coverage of corruption cases and stressed that the journalist must have evidence before publication in order not to be exposed to legal accountability or punishment thus:

It is not easy to access information through state offices because each ministry has its own laws. For example, if you are connected to information about corruption in a ministry that has a group of employees who have been in a process of embezzlement, and this information is known to you but you cannot publish because you do not have the evidence. If you do not have evidence that proves its validity, it will turn to you as we mentioned. Perhaps you may find information related to corruption issues, but this is not enough. This information must be confirmed by a document that you own in your hand. This

is impossible because there is no ministry, institution or company that will give you its documents. Therefore, you will not be able to publish. The corruption must be in your hands; otherwise, you should only hint, tick or whisper. (Informant 11)

Expressing contrary opinion, informant 12 states that there is no problem in obtaining information or to cover and publish issues about corruption which is incriminating in their newspaper:

The government provides us information through its official offices or its media offices. There is no problem in covering corruption cases. We follow the corruption issues in general through its office and through its official bodies, and then we follow them through the courts and usually the issues of public opinion have no effect. (Informant 12)

Buttressing this claim, Informant 14 also confirms that there is a law passed by the Sudanese parliament in 2015 guaranteeing the right of access to information in Sudan, but the problem lies in the lack of awareness of the journalists about this law and their lack of awareness of how to benefit from it. He reinforced this by saying:

Of course, there can be difficulties in obtaining accurate and detailed information, but as journalists, I think that the information available to the journalist with his professionalism and his journalistic skills can reach the information. It is said that the journalist must extract the information from the lion's den, so the press can provide sufficient information to detect corruption. It can prevent its publication by censorship or other internal control, external control or sometimes editorial policies. Sudan is one of the most countries where access to information is faced by the difficulty of how to document this information. But any corruption issue can be easily communicated to the citizen through newspapers or others. Now, the law of 2015 is the law on access to information passed by the parliament, which is one of the most important laws that strengthens the press work and increases press freedom, but the issue is that the journalists themselves did not do this

law and did not seek to benefit from this law. However, no one has ever heard or cared about it because the state and the information itself keep it as a source of strength and source of decision and something that is important. In developed countries like Canada and others and even the US, Law of Access to Information is available and it offers an application in the designated institution to request certain information. But, as a first step, the law allowed this step and required that people do this under the law, where you can get any information you need. (Informant 14)

Corroborating this perspective, Informant 16 supported the last viewpoints confirming the information on the issue of corruption that is available annually by the Office of the Auditor General thus:

The journalist always has a difficulty in getting the information. Information on financial corruption cases is available annually through the report of the Auditor-General. There is no difficulty in this. Anyone who covers the sessions of the Parliament or the Legislative Council in the state of Khartoum finds that the issues of financial corruption are published and the report of the Auditor-General contains all the abuses that occurred in the past year and therefore the information is easy and available. This is not the case in many other countries, but we have here in Sudan. As journalists, we find this information fully available in the report of the Auditor General. Government information is said to be confidential in the sense that all documents related to government documents is classified according to what we have previously reported from the newspaper before the case of corruption has been suspended for two years because it obtained government documents and published them and say these documents are confidential by the law to prevent the publication of the government documents or obtained them by illegal means. For example, this will condemn you by law. (Informant 16)

This viewpoint is reflected in the perception of Informant 17 who explicitly describes the situation thus:

Certainly, if the government has completely blocked the information, we may not be able to publish cases of financial corruption on the pages of our newspapers, but I do not think the government is blocking the information. As journalists, I do not think we feel that we are facing a problem in term of obtaining the government information. Due to what is available in these institutions, as a journalist, you are not allowed to access the information, but the Sudanese National General Auditor publishes the annual report. I asked for and did not go to any institution to ask for a report on corruption. But the country has the National General Auditor and an institution concerned with combating corruption and they are concerned rather than you go and get the information; other than this way, you will not be able to obtain information from them. (Informant 17)

However, in contrast to this point of view, Informant 18 reported:

There is no doubt that the government is hampering the access to the information that makes the corruption issue and its numbers widespread without any explanation of the reasons by the government and without any attempt to deny or prove. It is known that if the information is banned, the impact of corruption will spread if the real information should not be available to journalists. (Informant 18)

Attesting to the view point, informant 19, indicated the impact on the lack of awareness about the importance of getting information to the journalism:

Accessing government information is very difficult because of the lack of the culture of the importance of obtaining information from those sources, which affect the spread of corruption, as well as legal remedies for corruption were not in the required form. The difficulties to obtain the access to information have a significant impact on press coverage of corruption issues and most government departments operate under the "clandestine" system of blocking information. (Informant 19)

4.4.2.2b Problem of Data Storage

One of the main albatrosses of journalists in the coverage of corruption cases was the inability to have access to vital information required for such tasks. In spite of the freedom to access information and retrieve documents, most government agencies and officers are always not yielding. Similarly, this perception was equally confirmed by the informants who established the fact. The Figure 4.4 therefore shows the emergent views of the informants on problem of data storage.

The views expressed by the informants are related to the issue of corruption. Attesting to the instance of what necessitate data retrieval problem, informant 1 stated, “Access to government information affects the coverage of issues of financial corruption. Certainly, there are some government institutions which do not have the correct information”. This view was supported by informant 2 who reiterated that, “Access to government information may dismiss the issues of corruption because they do not have the real information unless you have a source within these institutions that can give you information because government institutions do not have information” (Informant 2). This perception was equally confirmed by informant 10 who expressed the following view:

Accessing information is of great importance; it means you are always looking for real information if you do not find the real information that will affect even in the law. This also affects the course of the follow-up issues of corruption. In addition, if you do not get the real information confirmed by the conclusive evidence, people will consider you as an information fabricator or a liar. This often exposes the newspapers that publish information on corruption issues to attack by the executive and legislative bodies in the state. This attack is because newspapers stand in the crossroads and cannot provide real evidence because the information does not have any real documents, and the majority of the

information is unverified and unrecorded. Therefore, the absence of information has a very significant impact on publishing and combating corruption. What is required is that information can be recorded in all official and non-official bodies for future generations in order not to be exposed to the same situation that has been exposed and led to the total collapse of the Sudanese state. (Informant 10)

4.4.3 Theme Two: Challenges in Reporting Corruption

The natural failure of the citizens to monitor the manner of officials makes it imperative for the media to do the job. Media performance is therefore germane to the issues of corruption. Poor media output seriously puts the people under the bondage of political office holders or civil servants who seem to have the natural tendency to be corrupt (Oladokun, 2010). In spite of the fact that the media have been an active member of the country's political triangulation as stated earlier, corruption has been on the increase. The central reason to the incapability of the media to adequately monitor corrupt Sudanese officials and bring them to book is the non-existence of statutory or precise constitutional empowerment on a level-playing field.

One of the most significant challenges facing journalists everywhere is to work in an uncertain economic environment and layoffs happen everywhere forcing journalists to do more with less income (Porter, 2009). Figure 4.5 below identifies theme two as challenges in reporting corruption with its secondary themes which include (Information Hoarding, Lack of Investigative Training and Imposing Taxes) which are generated from Nvivo 10 software.

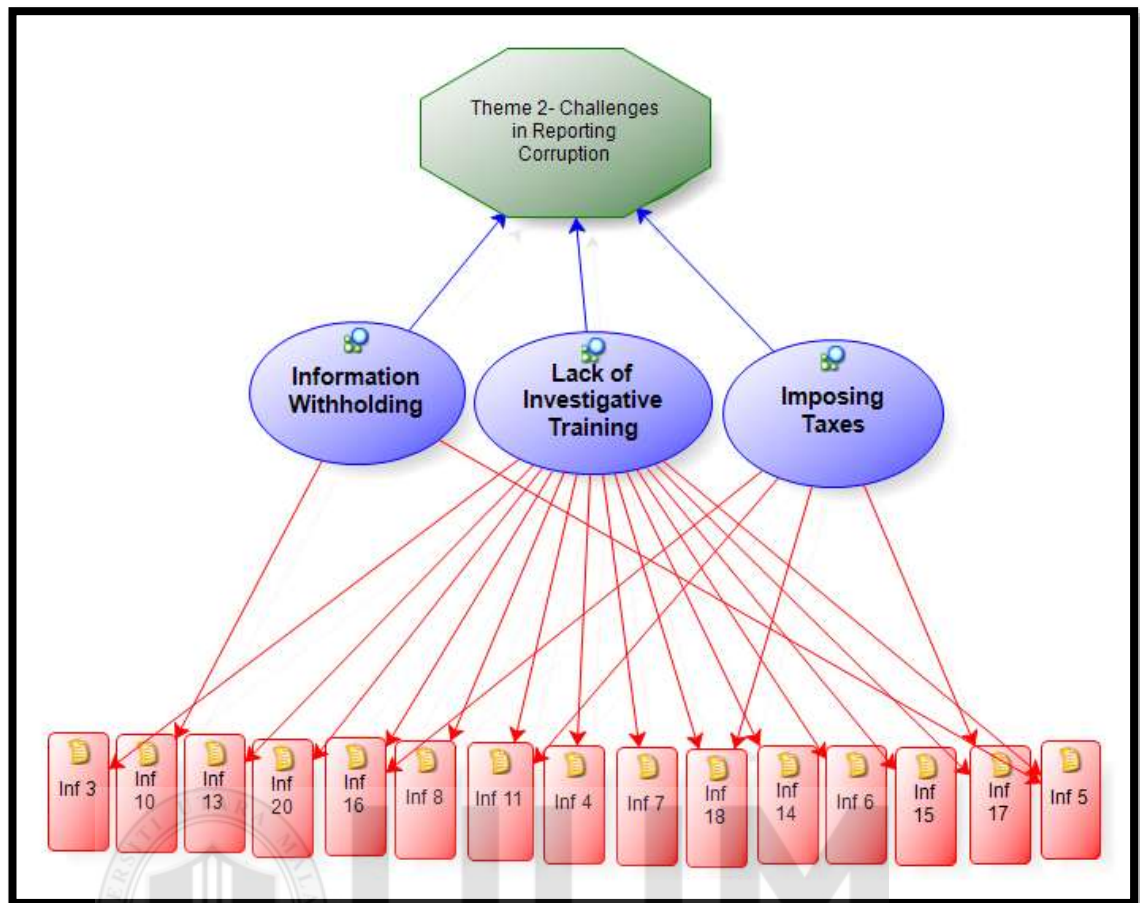


Figure 4.5. Challenges in Reporting Corruption

4.4.3a Information Withholding

Worry over the adoption of freedom of access to government information, especially as it relates to corruption, is an evolving issue in Africa and has gathered impetus since 2000 when South Africa passed the first freedom of information law (FOL) in the continent (Asogwa, 2017). Therefore, the right to access and accessing information are an important feature of meeting the requirements and the criteria of democratic governance. This means the actual application of freedom of expression and access to information, whether public access to the media or the access of journalists to the government information (Baglo, 2008). Explaining this further, Figure 4.5 shows the informants' perceptions on information withholding.

The views below show the informants' perceptions regarding the information hoarding on corruption issues. In relation to this perception, Informant 5 observed, "To a certain extent, because there is a blocking of information and this impedes the investigative journalism in Sudan with the existence of problems such as withholding information from different quarters, but not enough".

In the same manner, the informant 10 put across his perspective to support the view:

I do not think so, because of the absence of information, there is no doubt that the availability of information is the basis of the investigative news article, which leads to examining the problem and the final solutions. Because of the absence of information, the Sudanese newspapers review some topics generally rather than seriously. (Informant 10)

4.4.3 b Lack of Investigative Training

Investigative reporting has long been a tool that media development implementers have used in their efforts to improve the media landscape in emerging democracies. In spite of this, in the media industry, investigative reporters make up only a tiny percent of the staff of media organizations (Sullivan, 2013). Therefore, because despite its uncommon practice, investigative reporting has traditionally been at the forefront of media that cause the most change and reform which then called for adequate training for particularly the Sudanese journalist who needed it for corruption coverage.

African researchers describe various problems of the investigative journalism as: authoritarianism laws, restrictions on press freedom, financial problems, poor working environment and corruption, lack of journalistic training, as well as violence against journalists (Mudhai, 2007; Yusha'u, 2009). The finding was displayed in Figure 4.5 which shows the informants' perceptions on lack of investigative training.

The followings perceptions of the informants regarding the issue of lack of investigative training on corruption emerged. For instance, Informant 3 described the problems faced by the investigative journalist thus:

As an investigative journalist, I have conducted some investigations that have had an impact on some continents. In contrast, I have been attacked by parties included in the investigation. I won the Thomson Foundation Award as the best investigation, but the journalist has a number of problems and can make some journalists reluctant to work as investigative journalists. Yes, it plays its role as investigative journalism, but many of the problems and obstacles could lead many journalists to refrain from conducting investigations. (Informant 3)

In agreement with other Informants, Informant 4 described the challenges of lack of investigative training as general thus:

Although the investigative press suffers from poor training and other problems, the press operates according to the available freedom and economic capacity. It depends on the policy of liberation and its political orientation and the freedom granted by the state. (Informant 4)

Also, informant 5 supports the above view and stated: “There is a lack of information in Sudan in the presence of other problems such as training and weak press freedom from various government institutions. All these problems affect the investigative journalism in Sudan. Contrary to the situation, informant 6 explained his idea stating that there is no problem facing the journalism in terms of press freedom. He stated:

To a large extent, the existing space of freedom in newspapers is no exception but without an ambition. As journalists, we have a lot of freedom to move in, along with red lines not listed in the press law and in the press code of honor and each newspaper has its editorial policy. (Informant 6)

In relation to the argument, informant 11 stated:

Yes, satisfied with the practicing of the Sudanese newspaper for its role as investigative journalism, because it will not be able to provide the Sudanese press more than it presented because of their one direction. This role is sufficient in light of the situations and in light of the difficulties encountered and the obstacles placed in front of them and the existing lack of healing. (Informant 11)

Also, elucidating further on this view, informant 17 disclosed thus: “In general, I strongly believe that the press in our country publishes and discusses all issues, including issues related to financial corruption boldly, directly, objectively, without fear and no obstacles whatsoever stand in the way”. However, contrary to the opinion, Informant 7 has another view stating “The Sudanese newspapers are still practicing their role as investigative journalism that is still unsatisfactory and needs to improve through training and providing more space of freedom of the press”. Meanwhile, Informant 8 concentrated on the lack of training of the investigative journalists and lack of press freedom:

Newspapers were not free enough and they face a lot of problems such as training of journalists, and the space of freedom is simple. The newspapers are their censorship problem. Otherwise, there would have been a lot of news. Two years ago, the newspapers were dealing with corruption issues. But now, they have gone down and do not deal with the corruption cases except what is published in the report of the Office of the General Auditor. (Informant 8)

Contrary to the above perceptions, informants 13 and 15 expressed their perceptions thus: “The press is diligent and it will have to gain the benefits of this effort” Informant 13. In the same vein Informant 15 stressed that “There is no lack of the investigative press, but the investigative press is few in the Sudanese press, and we need to do that more”.

Reiterating the perception therefore, Informant 14 added “The press needs more investigations and larger areas of investigations, but corruption cases need more training because getting information is difficult”. Similarly, Informant 16 copiously expressed the following view point:

To some extent, there are newspapers that can be the only public relations newspapers where professionalism is found at the lowest level. In contrast, there are newspapers that follow the investigative journalism style and research and produce split investigations that influence decision-making. I would like to remind you that AL-Intibaha has done a better investigated coverage about the (May market) in south Khartoum and they sell rotten food and oil that is not suitable for human using. Because of the investigative report published in our newspaper, the police carried out large-scale campaigns and raided these places and benefited citizens from these campaigns. On the other hand, if you are talking about a financial corruption investigative press, as I have already told you that he needs a lot of caution, especially in the press, to get real documents, the journalist will have a great difficulty. The journalist will face considerable difficulties to obtain documented information. This journalist may be subject to legal accountability and may be brought to court. (Informant 16)

In support of Informant 16, Informant 18 then highlighted that:

The Sudanese press plays its role as an investigative journalist to a certain extent, but this is not enough, and this may be for several reasons, including weak training and weak press freedom. However, I am not sure that the press is playing its role as a fourth power or not. I do not think that the Sudanese press can do more than now due to the difficult circumstances and the pressure it experiences. (Informant 18)

Similarly, in his own justification, Informant 20 expressed the view below regarding the lack of investigative training on corruption. He said “There is an attempt by the Sudanese newspapers to play their role as an investigative journalism, especially in

this social newspaper, despite that the Sudanese media lack training and legal obstacles”.

4.4.3 c Imposing Taxes

The media, whether print or electronic, springs its rights as well as obligations from those under the fundamental right to speech and countenance available to a citizen. According to Menon (2013) one area where this fundamental right is encroached on is tax imposition. In view of this, there are cases in court across African countries challenging the imposition of import duty on newsprint. Meanwhile, in Sudan, there are challenges concerning imposition of taxes on printing. However, as a way out, an agreement was reached that 60% of outflow involved in printing was attributable towards securing newsprint after paying the pertinent duty. While on one hand, the court recognized the fact that the newspaper industry as the media enjoyed no special protection from taxation.

Reintegrating the challenges, Dabanga, (2018) disclosed that the hindering of information to the press, and economic restrictions imposed through tax and customs institutions are all effort to distress the financial situation of newspapers. These difficulties and restrictions impede the press and journalists in Sudan, while at the same time they restrict the freedom of expression and opinion.

Constitutional securities are not strong enough in Sudan to make the media active in a dishonest society where corruption has become food that must be eaten every day in order to survive, as well as, imposition of taxes that are bugging down newspaper operation (Oladokun, 2010).

Governments have some tools that can affect the media and the most important tools are money. Governments can impose tax, distribute advertisements and restriction laws to suspend newspapers. Also, Governments have a long tradition of distributing public advertising to sympathetic newspapers while keeping them away from non-pro-government newspapers (Di Tella & Franceschelli, 2011). The Figure 5.5 shows the informants' perceptions on imposition of taxes.

The following views express informants' perceptions regarding the issue of imposing taxes. Informant 11 explains how Sudanese newspapers suffer from taxes and other financial burdens which serves as powerful pressure on the newspapers thus:

The imposition of heavy taxes on newspapers, zakat, and customs for press production inputs such as printing and paper inks, etc., are imported from abroad, thus increasing their financial burden. If you want to solve the problem of journalism, you have to take it out of the concept that "journalism is a business" and introduce it into the concept of cultural work. However, this requires the abolition of fees and taxes borne by the newspapers. If the state does not intervene in support of production inputs and reduce costs, straight ahead, the press will face difficulties every time the journalist is valued and we will reach a stage where people will not be able to buy newspapers. (Informant 11)

Supporting and consistent with the concerns expressed above, Informant 16 stated thus:

The restrictions imposed by taxes, customs and others on print inputs are restrictive because they are the great suffering of the newspapers in printing, and there are usually more printing presses than journalists' rights and salaries. The press industry in Sudan faces great challenges, such as importing paper, ink and foreign workers. Then the Sudanese press suffers from a significant

decline in the distribution of its sales to the newspapers, because the paper press market originally suffered a fierce attack from the new social media. The Sudanese reader is stepping up his steps to go to the bookstores to buy a private newspaper. Its price has become 4 pounds in the universities. This implies that the price of the newspaper is equal to the price of bread, but now the price of the paper is worth 8 pounds. Hence, the Sudanese people do not buy newspapers. (Informant 16)

In the same way, Informant 17 supporting Informant 16 stated that:

The press industry in Sudan has become very expensive because of taxes and customs on the input of the press industry such as ink and paper imported from abroad and because the papers and ink's price rose, which increased the price of printing and the cost of the newspaper. Hence, I will find that the newspaper has become expensive and will refrain from buying, which affected the market negatively. (Informant 17)

Strongly supporting the perspectives, a similar view was also expressed by informant 18 who stated that:

The state also imposes taxes and other financial burdens on it and increases the costs of the production of newspapers and the owner (publisher) faces all these obligations and may not be able to fulfill them, which hastens his exit from the market. (Informant 18)

4.5.1 Theme Three: Environment Influence on Corruption

Corruption is a grave problem and social conscience which has important impact on all societies. It is a phenomenon which is globally widespread and can be generally defined as the use of public power to benefit a private interest. Meanwhile, corruption is a multifaceted incident with several and heavy complications for the economy and environmental sustainability. It has been identified that the existing descriptions of the political economy concerning environment/society interactions and extensive

evidence of bribery and illegal exchange in natural resources management, nowadays, fighting corruption goes on widely ineffective, with serious consequences for environmental quality. (Leitão, 2016)

It seems that the journalistic environment is the basis for all effective journalism. According to Baglo (2008), the journalists working field environment is defined as the political, legal, professional as well as social environments in the society and in the workplace, where the journalists live and operate. Figure 4.6 shows theme three-environment influence on corruption with its secondary theme, such as transportation and facilities, security threat, economic pressures and political pressures.



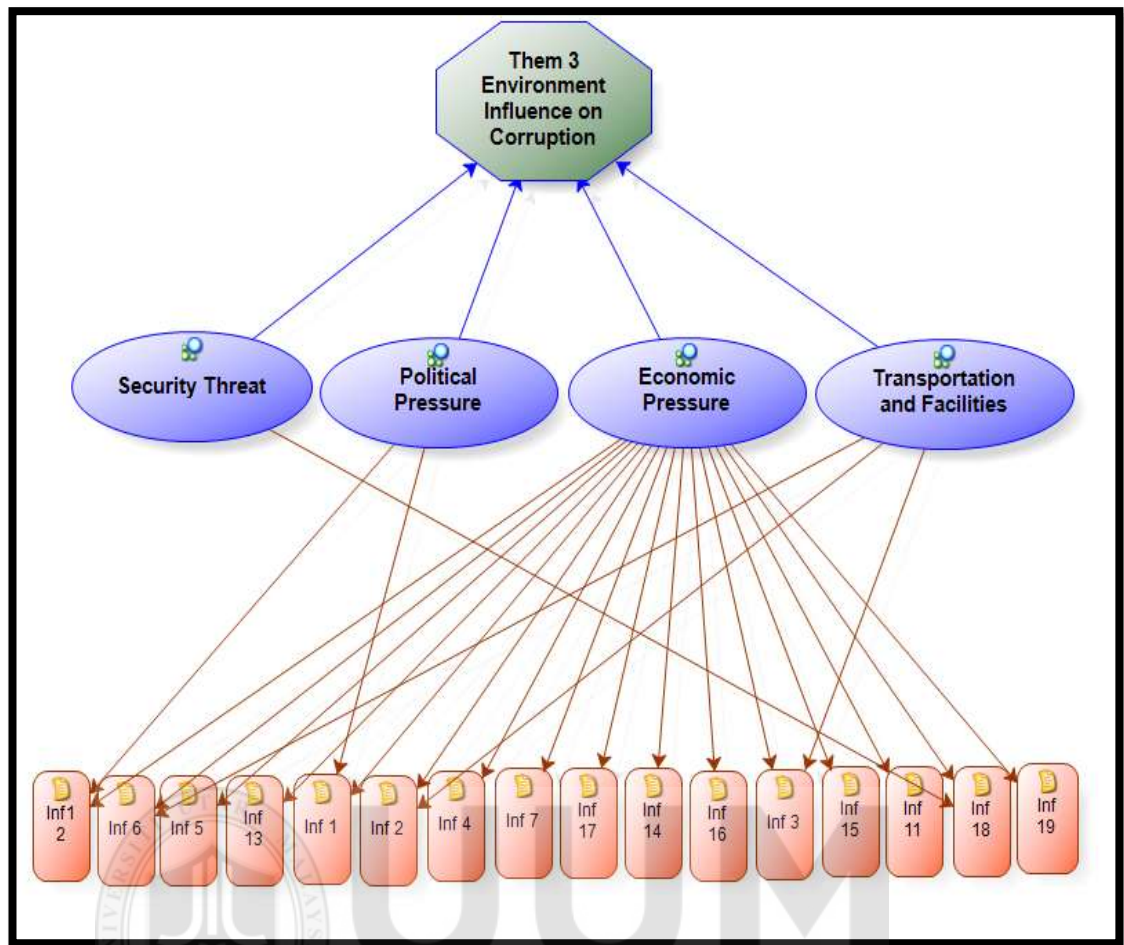


Figure 4.6. Environment Influence on Corruption

4.5.1 a the state of media practitioners' transportation and facilities

The financial stability of the media is a major challenge for the community of journalists who run their small businesses and most of them are not experienced in business and finance. In developing countries, there are developing information markets, but not all of them are viable if they do not have stable financial resources. The availability of permanent and stable financial resources is a precondition to ensure high-quality journalism and independence away from the influence of the governments, corporations, or senior politicians (Spurk, 2016). Journalists in Sudan face several problems; the most important of which are the availability of means of

transportation and other facilities, such as laptops, mobiles, cameras, and others.

Figure 4.6 above shows the informants' perceptions on transportation and facilities.

The following views are expressed by the informants on issues related to the influence of the transportation and facilities and the working environment on corruption.

According to informant 2 for instance, observed that:

The journalists' work environment is very impressive. For example, sudden power outages may lose important information from the computer and others, and this generally affects the working environment. There may be other obstacles, such as the lack of a photographer or a means of transportation or other things related to the work. There may be people within the newspaper who are biased to the extent that they may block information or resort to cut it. (Informant 2)

Similarly, Informant 3 expressed this in support of Informant 2 above thus "Many journalists do not possess some materials, such as laptops, modern recording devices, the law of the press, improving the economic situation, and improving the working environment can contribute to the development of the press". (Informant 3)

Also, describing the predicaments of journalists in Sudan, informant 6 narrated thus:

The work environment does not only affect the coverage of cases of financial corruption but also affect all the work of the press, which needs an ideal environment as the journalist makes a rational effort, physical effort, and mental brainstorming that are too large to provide material conforming to the professional standards. Therefore, the work environment requires for covering cases of financial corruption specific tools. The environment requires necessary tools for the work of the press based on the two things: transport and communications. The communication must be fast as well as having good furniture and advanced technologies, such as laptops, cameras, recording equipment and the technology of the output devices and new programs that

help in the production of journalism. Hence, journalism is a difficult combination and its difficulty is because all that is done in 24 hours. (Informant 6)

4.5.1 b Security Threat

Journalists in several African countries are exiled, imprisoned, tortured, threatened and killed for exercising their right of freedom of the press and freedom of expression. Journalists have been subjected to similar abuses by authorities in Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Zimbabwe, the Republic of Congo, Gambia, Swaziland, Niger, Chad and Zimbabwe (Baglo, 2008). In the case of Sudan, in the last two decades, freedom of expression in Sudan has been subjected to many restrictions that have limited the efficiency of the newspapers. The Sudanese authorities have closed many newspapers in the world in 2016. Twelve newspapers have been directly affected by these measures and have been subjected to more than 21 seizures. The authorities have closed many news publishers and confiscated full editions of the newspapers. Many journalists are exposed to precarious conditions, such as intimidation, harassment and arbitrary imprisonment.

Although Sudan's constitution guarantees freedom of the press, the Sudanese authorities and the National Security and the Intelligence Service have the ability to restrict the work of newspapers. The National Security Act of 2010 provides the protection of the national security apparatus from prosecution and the authority to detain and interrogate suspects, imprisonment, and torture (AmnestySudan, 2016; FreedomHouse, 2016). Figure 5.6 shows the informants' perceptions on security threat as emerged from the interview.

Informant 18 expressed the following view on security threat of journalists' work environment and its effect especially when reporting the issues of corruption in Sudan:

The journalist's environment certainly affects the coverage of corruption cases and now controls the press through many restrictive laws, including the National Security Act, the Press Law, the Criminal Code and the Informatics Act. All these laws directly affect the reduction of journalists' desire to spread corruption. When a journalist writes about a corruption case, he/she will be accompanied by fear or phobia, which are the consequences of applying these laws. (Informant 18)

4.5.1 c Economic Pressure

There are pressures exerted by the government on journalists and other media owners. Newspaper owners pay weak wages that do not commensurate with the volume of work done by the journalists. This pressure necessitates the reason why in some cases journalists write stories that are not true and are presented to the editors. We can say that the impoverishment of journalists is a key factor that forces many journalists to eventually negotiate or respond to any extortion that would facilitate the maintenance of their lives and the conduct of their lives. This practice leads some journalists to write non-existent stories to be presented to their editors. These pressures negatively affect the professional ethics of journalists and make them accidental to breach the accuracy of publication (Gehlbach & Sonin, 2014; Leman, 2014; Okwuchukwu, 2014). Meanwhile, Figure 5.6 shows the informants' perceptions on economic pressure that newspaper experience

The following were the informants' views on economic pressure when covering corruption issues in Sudan. Few informants said that the economic pressures have no impact on covering the issues of financial corruption, including newspapers that are in

financial straits. Journalists usually understand and can overcome these pressures. The journalist in his profession is not influenced and does not think that this may affect him personally. The journalist conveys the right information and publishes it according to the rules and regulations that he has been trained and worked on for many years. Informant 1, 2 and 16 disclosed that there is no effect on transferring the information, whether corruption cases or sports, technical or political issues. Informant 1 stated that “I do not think the economic pressures have an impact on covering the issues of financial corruption”. In the same vein, Informants 16 stressed that:

Economic pressures do not affect; the economic situation is completely separate from the press and does not interfere with the owner or the owner of the institution in their editorial work at all, regardless of the loss that may happen. (Informants 16)

Contrary to the earlier perspectives, informant 3, 4, 11, and 15 explained their views in a different way about journalists who live under difficult living conditions or poor environment that makes them to be vulnerable to extortion and possibly leads to direct media message not towards the main goal that is revealing corruption cases. For instance, Informant 3 corroborated this view thus:

Yes, economic pressure affects reporting the issues of corruption. If a person is a weak member of the profession, the person involved in the corruption may bargain with him by paying money in order to give up exploring the corruption case. If the work environment or the owner do not support the journalist morally or do not care about the journalist who is facing problems when covering issues of corruption materially, he may abstain or be influenced by the publication of corruption. However, if he knows that the administration of the newspaper is not attractive to address issues of corruption, he can give up. It may affect if the person has weak faith in the profession, has an economic hardship that forced him to sell a corruption case to someone for money. I mean, if in a corruption case, someone can pay money to the journalist because

he is going through an economic hardship that might the journalist ignore the publication of that case. The press is now suffering from great economic hardship in light of the high prices of printing. Also, some publishers face difficulties in economic conditions and the weakest are journalists who are exploited by some publishers. (Informant 3)

Informant 4 also shared a similar view with the above-mentioned informant and stated thus:

If the economic situation of the journalist is bad, the journalist will try to find sources of income other than his basic work as a journalist. Yes, the government may prohibit publishing in certain cases and may send to the press through the editors-in-chief to prohibit publishing in the relevant cases. The economic pressures on the newspapers are carried out through the advertisement of any newspaper rogue for the government to block the advertisement immediately. The advertisement is the first financial support; therefore, the advertisement is a serious pressure tool practiced on the newspapers. (Informant 4)

Another informant, 11 echoes the words of others above explaining that:

To a certain extent, for example, if you ask a person or a party who are accused of corruption information or tried to obtain it in one way or another and if you know the context of that party or that person and you are going to obtain evidence of corruption, in this case, money can be used as temptation, and this usually occurs when the cost of life of the journalist is too expensive. (Informant 11)

Corroborating Informant 11, Informant 15 stated that:

If there is pressure exerted on me as a journalist, I will not be able to deal with the issue of corruption with credibility. We can say that this is done according to the personality of the journalist. If this journalist is of the weak type, he will respond to extortion, but if he is someone who is professionally and morally high, is influenced by the newspaper. It is due to the policy of the newspaper

and the owner because the exposure to economic pressure is reflected on the journalist and the newspaper in the same amount. (Informant 15)

The following view point was observed by informant 5 on the fact that newspapers are subject to considerable economic pressure by the government, such as suspension for periods of unknown end, which exposes these institutions to huge financial losses:

Of course, the economic pressure affects the journalism. The press organizations in general are keen that the work process does not stop and address the issues of corruption. There may be government guidelines to not address specific issues related to financial corruption. If you address the newspaper, it may be suspended for two days. Of course, because the confiscation of the newspaper is done after printing, for example, after printing the usual 100 thousand copies, a major economic loss will happen, which adversely affects the press coverage of cases of financial corruption. (Informant 5)

More so, the following informants expressed similar perceptions but from another perspective on the issue of economic pressure and emphasizes that the press organizations that are based on a strong and permanent financial base can face economic pressures which might be either from the government, businessmen, companies, influential peoples, or advertisers. Such is the view of Informant 6 who said that:

Certainly, the press in Sudan is owned by private companies. Therefore, the law of companies or the private sector and the press is a complex industry and it is expensive. Therefore, if the institution does not have significant financial capabilities, it will have a weak product. I do not see a link between the newspaper which has a good potential; no one can control its decision, for example, if you deal with the corruption issues in an institution that was between you and that institution, interests will therefore lose. And if you do

not have the financial capabilities and therefore can dispense with their advertisements and services and even their relationship, corruption cases do not affect. For example, telecom companies are the biggest advertiser in Sudan. If there is a press organization dealing with corruption issues in a telecommunications company, then it will be deprived of this announcement, which can go on for a very long time. Therefore, if the relationship between them is strong and the interests are certainly significant, addressing corruption issues in this institution will be prevented within that newspaper. As I mentioned earlier, the issue is different if you are an interest holder. The newspaper is not in its interest to be involved in this case. Newspapers may be responsible for economic pressure in some institutions when dealing with corruption issues. (Informant 6)

In addition to the previous perceptions, Informant 7 also supported the view stating:

If the environment is well-prepared for the journalist; tools, necessary means for work, electronic devices, financial stability, and functionality will enable easy access to information and the detection of corruption, which is reflected positively on the work of journalism in general and on press coverage of cases of financial corruption in particular. If the funding is weak and does not have adequate financial resources, this may lead to frustration among journalists, which negatively affects the journalist's performance. Certainly, economic pressure has a negative impact on press coverage of corruption cases. (Informant 7)

Informant 14 also elaborates more on the economic pressures on corruption coverage using the following point:

The impact of press coverage on financial corruption and the economic environment in particular is influencing, because the economy can affect the disclosure of corruption issues. The press establishment, which lacks sufficient financial resources to operate efficiently may not be able to cover press releases of financial corruption cases. Corruption issues can start at a small scale and evolve; hence it needs to be pursued and prosecuted for long periods of time.

However, sometimes you cannot continue due to some obstacles because such issues need multi-party information. The Sudanese government has played a major role in uncovering the corruption issue. The Sudanese press has been able to uncover major corruption cases and have been covered with great success. (Informant 14)

Consistent with the views expressed by the above informants, so also is informant 17 who noted that:

The press in the country in general is going through a real financial crisis after the emergence of social media, which limited the sales. This in its turn has caused a significant impact on the owners of the newspapers. In addition, the input of printing became expensive, causing the reduction of the proportion of readers and also affected the distribution rates. Consequently, this reflected on journalists. Based on my opinion, the owners of the newspapers and the state are trying to improve the wages of journalists. (Informant 17)

Similarly, informant 18 expressed his view with regards to the issue of economic pressure when covering corruption issues in Sudan:

The impact of the economic factor is great because now, the economics of newspapers or newspaper industry in Sudan is one of the hardest industries in the economy of Sudan. Now the cost of running the newspaper is equivalent to 300% of its income; the ratio may vary depending on the economic situation of each newspaper, the economic status of each publisher, and the economic situation of each journalist. (Informant 18)

Corroborating informant 18, Informant 19 noted that:

The economic factor is the biggest obstacle, especially with the increase in the inputs of the press industry and the scarcity of foreign currency that are being strained by these inputs. The press coverage is surrounded by many challenges, such as the fear of the owners that the newspapers may be subjected to confiscation, loss of market and the weak government advertisement. Hence,

the economic pressures exerted by the press in Sudan and the high cost of the press industry are influential factors in the performance of the Sudanese press. The economic pressures on the press due to the financial distress, the rise of the press industry and the fear of blocking the announcement are important factors. (Informant 19)

4.5.1 d Political Pressure

One of the most obvious obstacles to the development of investigative journalism in the Arab world, including Sudan, is that Arab states are generally authoritarian regimes that exercise state control over the press (Bebawi, 2016). Figure 4.6 shows the informants' perceptions on political pressure as expressed by the interviewees.

The following views express the informants' perceptions regarding the issue of political pressure when covering corruption issues in Sudan. Therefore, one informant said:

The work environment affects the situation if the owner of the institution has influence or he may be under pressure by someone. It has impact on the newspaper and there may be pressure exercised by the government agencies and interventions to stop publication in cases related to financial corruption. (Informant 1)

Reiterating the above perception, Informant 12 noted thus:

Of course, when you have a good working environment, the performance of the press is also better if there is a coordination between the owner of the newspaper and the government spokespersons whenever the results in performance will be better. (Informant 12)

4.5.2 Theme Four: Solutions for Corruption Reporting

Press across Africa, especially in Sudan face a lot of challenges. For instance, government officials oppress journalists and scare them away from satisfactory

performance of their responsibility. More so, the inability of the constitution to guarantee the right of journalists to perform their role as government watchdogs (Oladokun, 2010). Therefore, in view of this, there is high need for a way out. The reason why this study explored the possible solutions for the development of the press industry in Sudan. The findings from this generated five sub-themes which were later analyzed in details subsequently.

1. Media institutions merging.
2. Legislation and press freedom.
3. Adequate training.
4. Using of the digital technology.
5. Collaborative effort among journalists.

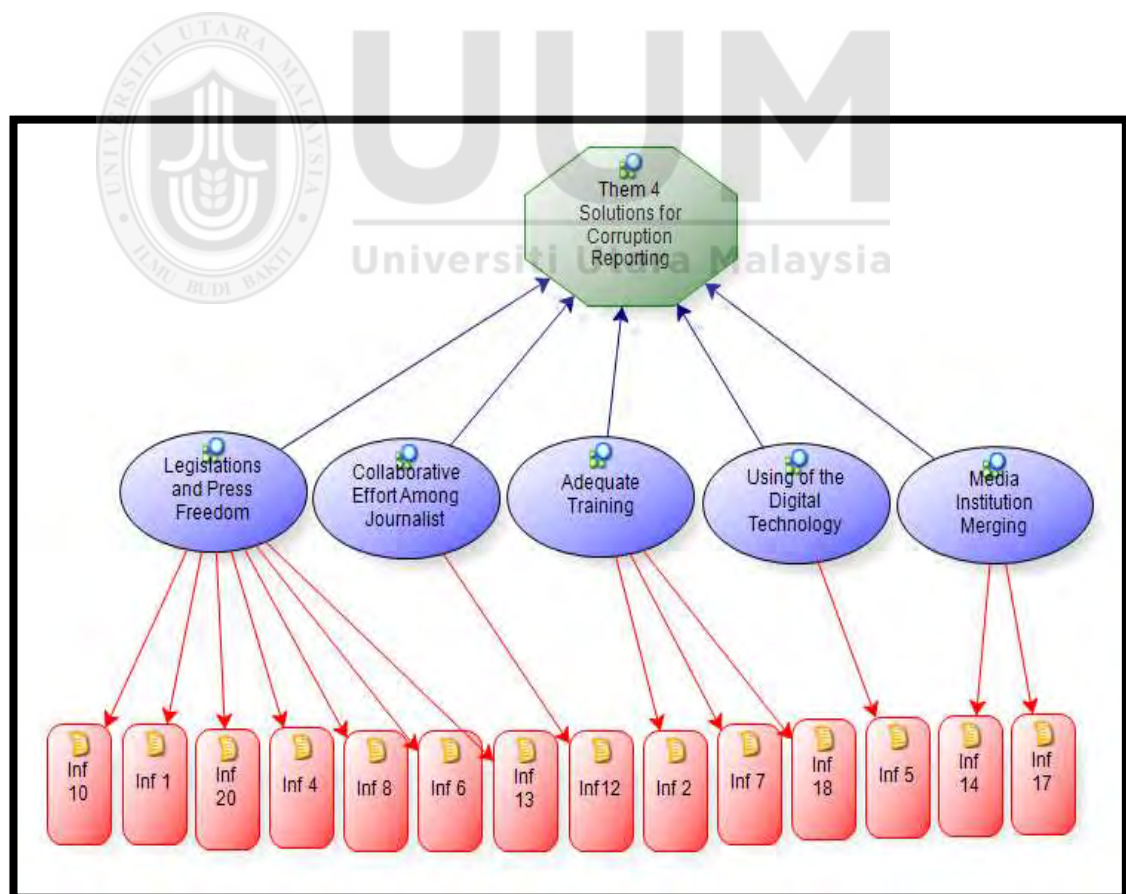


Figure 4.7 Solutions for the development of press industry

4.5.2 a Adequate Training

The three informants 2, 7, and 18 noted the importance and necessity of training journalists. They observed that this will contribute significantly to the development of the press industry. However, Figure 4.7 shows the informants' observations on adequate training.

Base on the interviews conducted with the informants, it was attested that adequate training for journalists is one of the solutions to the development of the press industry in Sudan. For instance, informant 2 highlighted this:

In the light of the competition between printed press and the online press, we must be able to work hard to develop the press and provide a good working environment and should provide a better practicing and profession and adapting the conditions of journalists in general. (Informant 2)

Supporting Informant 2 above, Informant 7 also submitted that:

Training and qualifying journalists with no doubt will have a positive impact on their journalistic work and enable the press establishment to achieve its goals in the best way, as well as implement journalists and provide financial stability for them. (Informant 7)

Similarly, informant 18 added:

Press institutions should be obliged to train journalists to be more prepared to meet the requirements of the profession. Every journalist must have a professional bias without any other affiliations. I think the state in the first, as well as owners of publishers and journalists should upgrade the level of journalist if they want to increase the journalists' training. If the State does not respond, press institutions should shoulder the responsibility. (Informant 18)

4.5.2 b Collaborative Effort among Journalists

Collaborative effort among journalists has different forms and our focus is on printed newspaper such as the participation of journalists in one story or helping each other in a specific press coverage. Amditis and Halo (2017) defined cooperative journalism generally as the practice of performing press activities using a common approach. Figure 4.7 shows the informants' perceptions on collaborative effort among journalists. Therefore, on the collaborative effort among journalists, Informant 12 expressed:

When you have a better work environment, the performance of press will be better. Also, if there is a collaboration between the owner of the newspaper and the editor of the newspaper and the leadership of the newspaper and the newspaper and the sources of official or popular and the working environment itself whenever there is harmony and there is an understanding between the staff of the newspaper, the work is better and existing. (Informant 12)

4.5.2 c Legislation and Press Freedom

In modern times, control of the media and the control of information movement have been a concern for successive governments in various countries of the world (Okwuchukwu, 2014). The most important problem facing the press in the Arab countries including Sudan is that the press laws in these countries offer very little guarantees for freedom of the press, whereas the same laws provide tougher criminal penalties against the media (Duffy, 2014). According to Omu (2000), the problem of controlling the media is linked to the owners and interests of media institutions. This significantly hinders the media from performing their various functions. These laws

usually include defamation laws, national unity, and the threat to national security.

Figure 4.7 shows the informants' perceptions on Legislation and Press Freedom.

The following interpretations are made by informants regarding the legislation and press freedom as solutions for press freedom. Expressing his view on this informant 4 stated:

The press industry is linked to the political reality in the whole country and it is not a fragmented issue. The press and the economy mirror the political situation of what is in the country and there must be laws if the political reality of the country is not reformed and there is a law that supports democracy and freedom and accountability and a free democratic system through the rotation of power free and fair elections, which also affect the press. (Informant 4)

Similarly, on this narrative, informant 10 added:

The press industry in Sudan is not linked to the overall situation in the country. The press will not develop if there is no comprehensive and complete reform of the system in the Sudanese state of laws compatible with democracy, which guarantees freedom of the press and easy access to government information. The press industry needs to resort to the law and to codify the information. (Informant 10)

As for informant 6, it was suggested that the state should release the restrictive laws such as National Security Act, the press law, the criminal law, and the law on informatics. In this regard, informant 6 said:

First, it is proposed to amend the laws on publishing so that the newspapers can carry out their duties. Many of the measures taken in dealing with these cases are arbitrary. Many of the cases are not officially followed by the press and publications. There are journalists who are against the state. The issue of law and legislation make the journalist keen to make a lot of effort. In order not to be exposed to economic, security or political pressure, I propose that the owners of these publishing institutions (publishers) should be completely away

from them and support the experience that the publisher is similar to the journalist. For example, some newspapers are owned by a journalist. As for newspapers owned by businessmen, the board of directors in that newspaper, I suggest that the owner should be the founder only, hence it will be purely commercial. (Informant 6)

In the same vein, Informant 8 stated that

Newspapers were not free enough and a space of freedom is simple. The newspapers are their censorship problem. Otherwise, there would have been a lot of news. Two years ago, the newspapers were dealing with corruption issues. But now they have gone down and do not deal with much of the corruption cases except what is published in the report of the Office of the General Auditor. (Informant 8)

Correspondingly, Informants 13 added that

Lifting the restrictions so that there will be a free press to address some of the issues and solutions is important because, it is not political, but livelihood of the people. Therefore, it is necessary for the State to provide production inputs and control through the Press Council. (Informant 13)

Similarly, Informant 18 disclosed that:

The biggest burden is on the state to lift the state's legal hand on the press through various laws issued as the National Security Act, the press law, the criminal law and the law on informatics. Law through the Press Council supports the press by reducing taxes on the press. There must be sufficient freedom to cover issues in a positive manner. (Informant 18)

As for Informant 20, it was stressed that *“Despite the lack of freedom of the Sudanese media and the existence of some restrictions and reservations that limit access to information, this is still satisfactory”*.

4.5.2 d Media institutions merging

As in developed countries such as the United States and Europe, a number of press organizations is clustered in one strong institution that is capable financially, technically and professionally, which makes it able to withstand the financial challenges and able to resist economic pressures whether these pressures are exerted by the state, businessmen, companies or advertisers. Therefore, Figure 4.7 shows the informants' perceptions on Compilation of Newspapers.

The following views show the informants' observations on conglomeration of newspapers as part of the solutions to the development of press industry in Sudan.

Supporting this view, informant 14 attested thus:

One of the most important solutions to the development of the press industry in Sudan, I propose, merging newspapers with each other because most of these newspapers find that the group of certain newspapers carry a specific message and believe in a certain theory and are similar in their ideas and theses. In addition, editorial texts newspapers that have a common denominator can be combined with some because newspapers like political parties converge and are similar to those between parties and those who demand the political parties to be merged. Also, newspapers that are based on one rule and one idea can be merged into one large newspaper, thus reducing expenditures and providing opportunities for comfortable economic conditions for journalists. In the eyes of the press, it is more important than politics which leads the society, because the press is the one that lights the way and at the same time is the one that provides free consultations even if we assume that, I was in the presidential palace or I have the opportunity to propose ministries and ministers do not protest to advisers because the press presents every day issues to consult and clarify the weakness of all ministers to be the role of consultation free of charge, and the journalist is more important than the political leader who run the public and governance issues. (Informant 14)

In this regard, informant 17 added:

The number of current newspapers has become very large. I suggest that newspapers gather in institutions that become large and huge institutions that spend a lot of money on them and are trained by specialists at least to do their duty and role. The other side is required by the government to provide or exempt a large part of taxes and customs on print inputs in order to give it a chance to continue its life. If it continues, many newspapers may stop. (Informant 17)

4.5.2 e Using Digital Technology

In the last one-decade, numerous tools, approaches and devices have been deployed in the fight against corruption. The contest has been on all levels using diverse interventions by authorities and other stakeholders. However, in recent time, given the pervasive role of new digital technologies in our society, ICTs have become an important tool to fight corruption. In view of the seriousness of incidents of corruptions particularly in Africa, the need to imbibe the use of technology as solutions have become the trending concerns.

According to Silveira (2016) advances in technology have led to unique and speedy access to massive amounts of data on societies, the economy and the environment. Elaborating on this, Silveira (2016) noted that apart from serving as fundamentals for democracy, access to information and transparency are crucial apparatuses in the fight against corruption that lead to sincerity. Customarily it has been problematic to expose corruption due to huge amounts of data. However, digitalism and the acceptance of big data has led to new data management procedures to prevent fraud and abuse in the public sector.

Similarly, Transparency International, (2018) described that as mobile phone usage and internet access around the world increase it is clear that technology is transforming society. The same goes for the fight against corruption.

Throughout the developed countries, the news comes using technological devices which is accelerating daily, which foreshadows the imminent spread between one party and another, that requires systems capable of absorbing this rapid development of the removal of technical barriers. The existence of legislation in line with this huge development, such as the laws dealing with ownership and licensing, and the integration of the digital world and the Internet have become necessary (Barnett, 2004). Figure 4.7 shows the informants' perceptions on using of digital technology as solution to corruption.

The views below is expressed by informant 5 regarding the use of digital technology as part of the solutions to the development of press industry in Sudan. Informant 5 therefore observed that:

With the development of the press in Sudan, the press industry in Sudan is moving towards the best. That is, tens of years ago, newspapers relied more on paper, but now the press relies on electronic means. The press would prefer to expand in the electronic press because paper newspapers are on their way to extinction. Newspapers have to develop their websites and deal electronically in the production stages, such as conducting interviews and others. (Informant 5)

4.6 Chapter Summary

In summary, chapter four presents the findings related to the content analysis tagged study one and qualitative analysis tagged study two respectively. This content analyses involved the selected four newspapers in Sudan. The findings showed a sort of similarity and differences in terms of the most dominant indicators, space, placement, and frame in the four newspapers. At the end of the presentation of the findings, the discussion of the findings was also presented.

On the other hand, for the qualitative analysis, the interviews had 20 informants whose perceptions formed the bases for this analysis. The thematic analysis through NVivo 10 software turned out four themes namely: Ownership Influence on Corruption, Challenges in Reporting Corruption, Environment Influence on Corruption, and Solutions for Corruption Reporting.



CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The Sudanese press played a prominent role in the anti-colonial movement and the press continued its leading role in resisting the military dictatorship. Hence, the press in Sudan is an essential socio-political institution which promotes the national values and democracy. For example, the Sudanese press has played key roles in resisting undemocratic political practices and blatant abuse of the role of law.

However, the Sudanese press is faced by many problems and obstacles that prevent its performance as investigative journalism and as an observer of the government's performance. These problems are manifestation of the laws that restrict freedom and the government's control of the media that hinders access to the government's information, as well as the weak regulations that govern the ownership of various media.

As outlined in Chapter One, the study aims at addressing five research questions and discussion of findings in this chapter was carried out based on the two methods adopted in this study:

1. What is the level of the prominence given to issues of corruption in the Sudanese newspaper?
2. What are the dominant frames that emerged in Sudanese newspapers regarding the issues of financial corruption in Sudan?

3. How do ownership pattern and access to government information affect Sudanese newspapers' coverage of financial corruption in Sudan?
4. What are the challenges facing journalists, and the solutions to the challenges in reporting corruption in Sudan?
5. To what extent does the working environment and economic dimension affect the newspapers when they report the issues of corruption in Sudan?

5.2 Discussion of Findings

5.2.1 Ownership Pattern and Access to Government Information Influence on Sudanese Newspapers' Coverage of Corruption in Sudan

The third objective of the study was to identify how ownership pattern and access to government's information affect the Sudanese newspapers' coverage of corruption in Sudan. The findings of this study illustrated that stakeholders influence (advertiser, economic interests, government threat, government ownership problem and private ownership problem) and access to the government's information which include (the government's control and problem of data storage) are what the ownership considers when covering corruption issues as demonstrated by the informants. One of the findings of the present study indicated that the newspapers' coverage of cases of financial corruption are affected by multiple interests that influence their framing of corruption issues. Although what is supposed to be the main interest of the Sudanese newspapers is the service and public interests and balanced framing, on the contrary, the informants claimed that Sudanese newspapers give the subsidiary interests, such as political, ownership and economic interest a priority more than the frame. The informants have specifically identified ownership, economy and politics as aspects where newspapers are more involved in reporting corruption issues.

Many reporters pointed out that the newspaper's report of corruption issues always reflect a person's control of a place that is critically referred to as the owners. The structure of the newspaper ownership in Sudan is a reason behind the immoral role of newspapers in reporting corruption cases. Journalists did not prove that most Sudanese politicians often set up newspapers to protect their personal interests at the expense of the community. Because of its implications, the impact of ownership on the content of the newspaper has attracted the attention of many telecommunications researchers. However, there is inconsistency in the impact of ownership because of the conflicting results (Cho, Kong, & Lin, 2004). Hence, the findings of the present study revealed that the personal interest makes the newspaper tend to support politicians or a particular party or the ideology in opposition to transparency in covering significant issues affecting the society such as issues of financial corruption. Colistra (2012) stressed that the evidence in the literature supports claims that the interests and pressures of the owner greatly affect news content.

The owners of the newspapers affect the framing of newspapers content and influence the public opinion, the government's policy and the political behavior. The newspapers' owners impose four strategic forms of control on journalists when recruiting. First, the newspapers' owners predict the strategic management and resource control of their organizations by prioritizing areas of news focus and editorial analysis. Second, the owners employ a subtle control by setting the basics of their organizations with editors and journalists.

As described in Chapter Four, press operations are controlled by a strong concentration of editorial and administrative responsibilities in the owner's office. It is essential for

owners to control the content of newspapers and mediate the processes at all stages of editing. Therefore, they tend to prioritize their interests above professionalism and public interest, which adversely affects the quality of news production.

The ownership of the newspaper has a critical role in handling issues that are presented to the Sudanese public opinion, including the financial corruption in Sudan. Hence, the owners and the elites control the direction of the newspapers to serve their own interests, which confirms the interference in the content of the newspaper. The effect of newspapers' ownership in the Sudanese establishments was analyzed by Herman and Chomsky (2010) who stated that the private media rely on public advertising, propaganda and pressures.

Newspapers exist in Sudan and largely project the narrative agenda while reporting corruption issues. That is, the newspapers mainly represent the interests of their owners as well as the political class in their regions. This is particularly evident in Sudan, where significant similarities axis exhibits broad content diversities as well as divergent allegiances based on the ownership and political affiliation. As discussed in Chapter 4, a strong correlation exists between the owners of the newspapers, stakeholders, institutions, a newspaper and its content and defines the context with which issues are framed, debated and prioritized; hence the categorization.

Previous studies conducted in Britain have proved a complicity between political leaders and some media organizations. These politicians offered the big media companies facilities in exchange for publishing news in a way that reflects the politicians' interests. Therefore, there are demands to limit the monopoly of these

companies for the media there in order to give the media a chance to play their role in the media world (Milne, 2017). The views expressed in the previous studies are fully consistent with the results in the present study, whereby the pattern of the ownership has a clear effect if the corrupted institution has relationships with the owner of the newspaper certainly, this would make him/her turn a blind eye to press coverage of issues of corruption.

Nowadays, the steady growth of advertising spending is a response to the requirements of the booming economic expansion in the developed world. That is, the advertising industry has witnessed flourishing due to the global advertising expenditure on commercials with about \$ 330 billion a year 2000 (Tomkins, 2000). Hence, the advertisement is one of the most important sources of media organizations and newspapers because it has a great influence on the wealth of the press industry (Doyle, 2013). The findings of the previous studies indicated that the content of the newspapers has a significant impact on the profits of the press institutions. In other words, the coverage of exciting issues such as the issues of financial corruption that attract the attention of newspaper's audience increases the circulation ratio, which in turn leads to higher requests for advertising in the newspaper (Doyle, 2013; Powers & An, 2009; Stephan, 2005). Similarly, the previous studies showed a consistency with the findings of the present study the coverage of corruption issues has a positive effect on the circulations of the newspaper and this increases the amount of the advertisement and raised the income of the newspaper.

Hence, the findings of the present study revealed that the personal interest indirectly makes the newspaper collaborate with some stakeholders; this action prompts others'

reaction by any means and most time result to issues of corruption. This claim is supported by Colistra (2012) who stressed that the owner's interests and pressures significantly influence the news content.

The present study therefore found that the newspaper's ownership is a means to achieve political and economic strategic goals of the newspaper, and this is a recurring theme in Sudan. As discussed in Chapter 5, three ownership objectives were identified, namely to make a profit, to support a particular ideology or influence political decisions, and finally to act in public interest. while these objectives are difficult to segregate; the consistency with which the political class has established newspapers are tools for achieving largely political purposes. These findings are consistent with Muzzatti and Featherstone (2007) who noted that the ineffectiveness of all sources of information that the media depend upon is often under the control of the influential elite. To shape content and by extension, influence public opinion, government policy and political behavior, newspaper proprietors engage in four strategic forms of control over their organization and the content they generate.

First, they exercise control over the journalists through the conditions stated in the job contract. The owners of the newspapers influence the framing of the content of the newspapers, the public opinion, the government policy, and the political behavior. In this regard, newspaper owners exercise four strategic forms of control over the journalists when recruiting. First, they control their press by imposing certain conditions in the job contract. Second, they predict the strategic management and control the resources of their organizations by giving priority to news areas and editorial analysis. Third, the owners of the newspapers use hidden censorship by

defining the direction of their organizations together with the editors and the journalists in order follow the hidden ideology.

As indicated in Chapter Four, editing is controlled by a strong concentration of editorial and administrative responsibilities in the owner's office. It is essential for the owners to control the content of newspapers and processes at all stages of editing. Therefore, the newspapers owners tend to prioritize their interests at the expense of professionalism and the public interest. However, this behavior adversely affects the quality of newspapers concerned.

The owners of the newspapers in their attempt to control the editorial content of the newspapers are part of the struggle of the elites in influencing the political decision to affect the public opinion of the readership. According to Herman and Chomsky (2010), the private media are effective, depending on public publicity, propaganda and coercion. However, the press hubs in Sudan that are assumed to be a major project in the process of reporting agenda on corruption issues, represent mainly the interests of their owners as well as the political class in their regions. Consequently, there is a strong relationship between newspaper owners, stakeholders, institutions, a newspaper and its content. In particular, the disclosure of the content required for democracy. Therefore, while ignoring public issues, the range of issues reported is of concern to elites controlled by politicians and influential in the state and society and focused on ideology that supports a particular party.

In terms of ownership pattern and access to government information affect Sudanese newspaper coverage of financial corruption in Sudan? It was discovered that there was

a noteworthy variance between the newspapers framing. The newspapers were selected based on their apparent and ambiguous different ownership. Regarding the newspaper framing of the corruption issues in Sudan, the findings of the study revealed that *the Sudanese Vision* newspaper differed significantly from others newspapers, namely *Al-Dar*, *Al-Intibaha* and *Assayaha* in the framing of Sudanese corruption issues. Therefore, *Al-Intibaha* newspaper was identified as for a high priority to framing the issue of corruption in Sudan.

The Sudan's parliament approved the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), submitted by the Sudanese Government in January 2015. The Government announced this FOIA ensures the basic rights of freedom of thought and viewpoints for all citizens and strengthens the relationship between the government and the citizens. Transparency International in reference to the anti-corruption organization, which occupies the Sudan 173 out of 175 in its list of most corrupt countries. Due to this law, a committee supervised by a minister appointed by the President of the Republic of Sudan supervises the approval of applications to ensure the freedom of information, instead of sending them directly to the ministry or the relevant institution. This enables the executive government to have a full control. The law is a step in the right direction to promote free access to the government's information in Sudan. However, with the long history of censorship and harassment by authorities, journalists and press freedom organizations suspect that the law will be used as another means of suppressing them. Consequently, the journalists remain concerned about the effectiveness and applicability of the law (CPJ, 2015).

The findings of the present study have revealed that ownership influences the issues of corruption. As a result, it has been revealed that the situation of the country required such consideration being two of the most critical factors in the country. Consequently also, it has been revealed that in Sudan, the coverage of corruption is very weak because of the press laws such as the defamation laws, national unity, and the threat to the national security. A major consideration by the ownership as revealed by the informants who were interviewed is the access to the government's information when reporting the corruption issues. According to some of the informants, the ownership of the newspapers are only concerned with the advertisers and the economic interest. This study also discovered that one of the considerations by the ownership when covering corruption is the government's threat, the government's ownership problem and private ownership problem. In addition, the newspapers ownership considers the government's control and the problem of data storage when reporting the corruption issues. As highlighted by informants, the government's control of the media and lack of technology has contributed to the difficulty to access the government's information. The Sudanese press industry has flourished since the independence of Sudan in 1956, and specifically in the last two decades with the spread of a wide range of private owned newspapers organizations. The press continues its role as an effective ideological and political institution in disseminating information, setting the agenda, shaping the public awareness, building or dismantling political discourse and influencing the national policy. However, the Sudanese newspapers continue to be negatively or positively affected by the pattern of the ownership and are also adversely affected by the excessive state control of press content.

Sudanese newspapers are still divided if the ownership of these newspapers is taken

into account. Hence, these newspapers are influenced by the stakeholders, companies, advertisers, businessmen, social institutions, a party or an ideology supported by these owners. Consequently, the study found that the ownership of newspaper is employed for achieving strategic political and economic ends, and this is a recurring theme in the Sudanese newspapers. As discussed in Chapter Four, three ownership objectives were identified, namely to make the profit, to influence the political decision, and finally to act for the public interest (Ohlsson, 2012). Though these objectives are difficult to segregate, the consistency with which the political class has established newspapers suggests that newspapers are tools for achieving great political purposes.

This findings also identify the proprietorial control by a heavy concentration editor. While it is necessary for owners to predict the productivity of their enterprise, proprietorial control over content tends to prioritize the interests of the owners above professionalism and public interest. Newspaper ownership and content partly accounts for the combative political characterization of the press in Sudan. The elite class struggle for the control of the state resources asserts itself in newspaper content to the extent that significant percentages of newspaper articles, op-eds, editorials and front page news are framed to mask regional elite power struggle in Sudan. These findings are in line with the analysis of Herman & Chomsky (2010) who argue that the private media are an effective powerful ideological institution that carries out systematic establishment function by depending on adverts, propaganda and overt coercion.

5.2.2 Challenges Facing Journalists, and the Solutions to the Challenges in Reporting Corruption in Sudan

Several major institutional challenges hinder the editorial and professional procedures in the Sudanese press. These challenges limit additional working hours and in some

media environments have become somewhat tolerant and less dangerous compared to decades of military rule in the past. As discussed in Chapter Five, a careful examination of the current context has provided insights on three major global challenges faced by journalists, editors and newspaper organizations in Sudan.

The fourth objective of the study was to identify the challenges faced by the journalists in reporting corruption in Sudan. It has been revealed that information concealment, lack of investigative training and imposition of taxes are the key challenges when reporting corruption cases in Sudan.

5.2.3 Solutions towards the Challenges in Reporting Corruption in Sudan

Solutions that will enhance the development of the press in Sudan have five sub-themes generated from the interviews, among which are conglomeration of the newspapers, legislation and press freedom, adequate training, using the digital technology and collaborative efforts among the journalists.

The fourth objective of the study was to identify the solutions to problems faced by journalists in reporting corruption in Sudan. This study therefore found that the completion of newspapers is one of the solutions for the development of press industry in Sudan. Similarly, it has been revealed that adequate training for journalists should be taken into account by the government and the newspapers' ownership in order to develop the press industry in the country. The adequate training is a professional challenge such as poor employee reward and recognition, rudimentary infrastructures, unlimited employee development program and poor conditions of work makes it difficult for professionals to function effectively.

The obstacles faced by the press institutions in the development of press industry in Sudan have not only hindered the press from performing their role professionally but also led the political elite and companies to manipulate editorial direction and news content directly and remotely. It has also been revealed that the collaborative efforts among the journalists need to be considered as part of the development of press industry in Sudan as suggested by the informants. In the same vain, it has been revealed that the legislation and press freedom is one of the key elements of development of press industry by the Sudanese government through the parliament to ensure press freedom.

According to the participants' perspectives, legal obstacles, including defamation laws, national unity and the threat to national security called the Information Act, the Press Law, the Criminal Law, have restricted the press in their quest for information access. Despite the fact that freedom of information ACT (FOI) is approved, Journalists in Sudan still face several problems; the most important of which are the availability of means of transportation and other facilities such as laptops, mobiles and cameras. It has also been discovered that the use of digital technology needs to be considered by the newspapers ownership and the government as a part of the development of press industry in Sudan.

5.2.3.1 Developing the Style of Newspaper Ownership in Sudan

Given the pattern of newspaper ownership in Sudan, the press has become overwhelmed by the interests of the owners and their interests. The style of newspaper ownership lacks the competitiveness, sophistication and high quality of the newspaper industry. Since newspapers are now used as real means of social transformation and

the basic support in the public interest, the three outcomes recommended three main courses of action to strengthen the press in Sudan. These included developing and activating the laws regulating the pattern of ownership of the press based on the professional experience and qualifications that enable the press industry in Sudan to develop and encourage small press institutions to integrate into large entities that are capable of competition and development. And that the state lifts legislative, legal and financial restrictions such as taxes, licensing fees and other financial burdens that weigh heavily on press organizations.

5.2.3.2 Enforcement of Press Law Publications and Activating Laws on Press Freedoms

The provisions of the Press and Publications Act of Sudan provide a wide range of freedom. For example, Article 5 of the Press and Publication Law “Basic Principles of Freedom of the Press and Journalists” states:

(1) The press should exercise freedom and be independent in accordance with the constitution and the law, taking into account the public interest, the rights, and the privacy of others without prejudice towards the public morals.

(2) No restrictions are imposed on the freedom of press publication except under the provisions of the Law for the Protection of National Security, Order and Public Health.

Newspapers will not be confiscated or closed or the journalists and publishers are not imprisoned due to the exercise of their profession except in accordance with the law.

Regarding the laws governing the ownership of newspapers, the law clarified the persons and institutions that have the right to own newspapers. For example, According to Article 20 of Chapter 4 of the Press and Publication Law “Issuing Newspapers, Publications, and Press Publications.

- (i) any company licensed and registered under the provisions of the Companies Act of 1925.
- (ii) A legally registered political organization provided that the editor is responsible for the publication process according to the conditions set forth in Article 23 (2).
- (iii) Any social body, scientific institution or a governmental unit for the development of the scientific or specialized activity is licensed provided that the author is responsible for publishing as an editor in accordance with the conditions laid down in Article 23 (2)
- (iv) The members of the foreign community in the Sudan may issue their press releases and publications after obtaining the Council's approval from the Council in accordance with the conditions and regulations.

Article 1 of Chapter 5 of the Press and Publication Law defines the rights of the journalist that the Press and Publications Law clarifies the rights and protection granted to journalists. These rights include the right to access information and protect the sources of information. For example, according to Article 25 of Chapter 5 (1), the journalist enjoys the following rights and immunities:

- (i) The journalist is not subjected to any act with the aim of influencing his or her performance, safety or commitment to his/her professional duties.
- (ii) Protection of sources of press information.
- (iii) With the exception of cases of *flagrante delicto*, a journalist may be detained for any offense related to his/her journalistic profession only after the General Federation has notified the Sudanese journalists by means of a written form.
- (iv) The journalist has the right to obtain information from official sources in accordance with the law.

- (v) The Council follows appropriate measures to ensure the rights and protections of journalists.
- (vi) Journalists may not be dismissed unless the General Union informs the Sudanese journalists of the reasons for dismissal. If one-month elapses and the Union fails to reconcile the newspaper and the journalist, the parties should abide by the provisions of the current media law.

5.2.3.3 Implementation of Freedom of Information and Access to Government's Information for Transparency, Accountability and Efficiency

The Interim National Constitution of 2005 guaranteed the protection of freedom of expression and freedom of the press under Article 39 and access to information for transparency, accountability, and efficiency. However, despite the previous constitutional provision and similar laws, access to information, in particular, public records and official documents, was not possible despite the Freedom of Information Act. The Sudanese government approved the Freedom of Information Act, which was also approved by the Sudanese Parliament in January 2015.

However, several factors limit the application and effectiveness of the Freedom of Information Act. The main obstacles are illiteracy and poverty; the majority of the population is either uneducated or ignorant of the implications of the Freedom of Information Act. Hence, people consider that the use of the Freedom of Expression Act should be practiced by a public institution, whereas individual practice of the Freedom of Information Act is time-wasting and unsuccessful. This confirms that having such laws is not enough to be applied practically. Therefore, the real desire of the government and citizens in the application of laws will be effective in providing freedom of expression and access to information and other values of freedom.

The institutions that would activate the Freedom of Information Act is the judicial institution and the judicial services that hinder progress on this issue. Thus, the law remains unenforceable in most federal states. It is equally important to reiterate the inappropriate position of public officials, who are still reluctant to provide required information, despite the adoption of the law, as well as a lack of awareness of the existence and importance of citizenship by citizens and journalists in particular.

The delay in the implementation of the Freedom of Information Act has hindered access to official documents and reduced the quest for accountability of officials in the public sector. Theoretically, the government claims that the government's documents are available for public scrutiny and that irregularities by public officials are making their way to justice. In fact, the official secrecy, the difficulty of access to the government's information, corruption and the broad powers of unconstitutional public officials undermine the institutionalization of practice. It is therefore recommended that the State of Sudan reviews the implementation of the Freedom of Information Act.

5.2.3.4. Removing Barriers and Challenges facing journalists

The major challenges faced by journalists, such as obstacles that make it difficult to obtain governmental information, taxes and economic pressures on journalists, such as delaying salaries, low wages, workload and poor training. As a result, the Press and Publications Law recommends that press organizations should devote part of their resources to training journalists.

Therefore, it is recommended that the state should remove the financial hurdles such as fines and large financial sanctions and stop the government's orders to punish the

press with temporary suspension. Such practices by the government cause large losses to the press institutions, which adversely affect the press work and the development of the newspaper in Sudan. Consequently, there was a need for the activation of the law to access the government's information which was issued in 2015, as well as the obligation of press institutions to train journalists.

5.2.3.5 Online News and Political Participation in Sudan

The predominance of online news sources impacts the traditional newspapers in different but fundamental ways. For example, in Europe and North America, newspapers continue to face economic challenge, represented by the 2008 financial breakdown. Advertising revenue has been reduced due to severe challenges and the audience have changed their reading habits since consumers have started using the internet to obtain free information and news. However, countries outside the West, particularly India, Pakistan, Brazil and parts of Africa have an increasing number of readers and circulation of traditional newspaper are on the increase; cost, content and online news availability notwithstanding.

In Sudan, the introduction of mobile internet and broadband connectivity in 2004 has deeply increased the access and diffusion of information on the World Wide Web (www). Online news and blogs have flourished the media space with the potential of altering information dissemination and news consumption patterns. It is within this framework that the present study on regional newspaper ownership and concentration and its impact on politics can be extended with further studies on the impact of online and social media news platforms on the political participation in Sudan.

The current study has raised many questions that need for further investigations. For example, due to the recent advancement of modern communication technology, a need arises for better content and information dissemination. In addition, there is a possibility to explore how these issues threaten the national economies and political sovereignties. The impact of such technologies on news production also needs more focus, in areas such as web casting. A need also arises to determine the relationship between the wider mass media and politics.

5.3. Extent of the Effect of Environment and Economic Dimension on Newspapers when they Report the Issues of Corruption in Sudan

The fifth objective of the study was to examine the extent of the effect of the environment and economic pressure on newspapers when they report the issues of corruption in Sudan. This study therefore found that lack of transportation and facilities are part of the environmental influence when covering corruption issues in the country. In addition, the study revealed that security threat is another environmental influence that is affecting the coverage of corruption cases in Sudan as claimed by one of the informants. It has also been revealed that the economic pressures are also part of the environmental influence when reporting corruption as observed by the majority of the informants in this study. Finally, this study has discovered that the political pressures are additional environmental influences when the newspapers report the issues linked to corruption in Sudan.

The economic pressures which include, but not limited to, declining advertising revenues, fluctuating numbers, and poor salaries, have made journalists and news organizations vulnerable to accepting bribes and gratification from politicians and

corporate sponsors. This directly threatens the ability of the newspaper to fulfill its constitutional role and limiting its ability to influence the democratic process. This was corroborated that the security threat, including kidnapping, maiming, beating, unlawful detentions, arresting, death threats, and killing journalists creates an atmosphere of insecurity and fear (CPJ, 2015). The minimal success by the Sudanese police to arrest and prosecute those who perpetrate these crimes against the press is not enough to encourage them further to serve as anti-corruption agencies while reporting against abuse of power and infringement in the system.

5.4 Recommendation for Further Research

Further researches are needed to understand the role of the newspapers in influencing the Sudanese public opinion, especially the impact of the press on critical issues, such as the effect of the financial corruption on the public opinion in the Sudanese society.

5.5 Contribution to the Study

The findings of the present study are significant for theory, the process of knowledge and research society. In addition, the findings demonstrated how the media present the issue of financial corruption to the public and the factors that influence the presentation of the means of marking the issue of corruption, which would provide great benefit to the governments, educators, trainers and editors of the media. Therefore, this study expands understanding and views on how media frame corruption issues, thus leading to the development of future policies and solutions. The present study is important since it contributes theoretically, methodologically and practically.

5.5.1 Theoretical Contribution

This study is theoretically oriented. The conceptual framework is based on the theoretical concept that linked active media participation to framing corruption issues. Corruption has always been a source of concern for both developed and developing countries. Hence, this study has contributed by highlighting the role of media in fighting against corruption by raise the awareness and provide information to their readers' community. Similarly, this study has contributed significantly towards understanding newspaper framing of issues of corruption in Sudan. Due to the significant role of media in highlighting critical issues, journalists are faced by several challenges as reported by the participants in this study. In this regard, one of the most important solutions is that all stakeholders must support and encourage newspapers to play their role through investigative journalism.

Despite the availability of literature on media participation in covering corruption issues, only a few studies have focused on framing newspapers for financial corruption issues. Therefore, the findings of the present study could contribute by presenting an insight into the corruption issues in Sudan.

Two theories were employed in this study; Agenda Setting Theory and Framing Theory. Agenda Setting Theory was employed to explain how the external factor, such as ownership, access to the government's information, censorship and restrictive laws, influence the content of the newspaper. As for the framing theory, it was employed to explain how the journalists present the news to their audience. The results of this study prove the validity of employing both theories in Sudan. Based on the results of the study, it was demonstrated that the ownership of the media in Sudan has a great impact

negatively and positively on media in particular newspapers. The study also proved that the ownership of newspapers in Sudan, directly and indirectly, interferes with the publication of newspapers' content, interest, supports their private interests or their advertisers or supports a particular political or an ideological point of view.

One of the most significant contributions of this study is that it provides the overall perspective on newspaper framing and corruption in Sudan. Furthermore, this is significant because most of the previous research have directed attention at knowing just the newspaper coverage but not many have gone beyond that to know the perceptions of the journalists. Therefore, one of the critical gaps, which this study has responded to is the inadequate research attention that is devoted to ascertaining the solutions towards how Sudanese newspapers can become strong, vibrant and effective in fighting against corruption. Expressively, this study found empirical evidence which answered this gap as the informants revealed their experiences which then established knowledge about the solutions.

Significantly therefore, this study has contributed to knowledge through the empirical evidence discovered which corroborated the fact that corruption is rife in Sudan and that newspapers have a lot to contribute to prevent, expose and stop it. Corruption in Sudan does not start and end with the government officers but has permeated the society but little is known about this challenge. In relation to this, the study theoretically contributes to knowledge having explored and established the extent as well as the, intricacies and glitches of the phenomenon. Arising from this evidence, this study's contributions provide theoretical perspective that deepen the understanding of public and all critical stakeholders.

5.5.2 Methodological Contribution

Employing a mixed method approach in the present study has contributed to some insights into the methodology used in media and communication research. In addition, the present study contributes to knowledge by filling a methodological gap in media framing of issues of corruption in Sudan. Moreover, this study contributes methodologically through the link to some aspects of perceived realities such as the ownership pattern and access to government's information. Similarly, the study discovered the government influences on the framing of issues of corruption, and the effect of the environment as well as economic dimension on newspapers in reporting the issues of corruption, identifying the challenges faced by the journalists in reporting corruption and the solutions presented for the development of the press industry in Sudan.

In order to thoroughly examine the issues surrounding the challenges of corruption and the role of newspapers, the application of both quantitative and qualitative approaches was required. This is in line with Van Gorp (2007) who contended that the strongly theoretical nature of frames implies that quantitative research methods should be combined with the interpretive prospects of qualitative methods. In this regard, De Lisle (2011) observed that a qualitative approach to mixing methods is capable of generating a new way of understanding complexities and the context of social experience.

5.5.3 Practical Contributions

The findings of the present study have provided a deep understanding of how the press or the media in Sudan can address the issues of financial corruption. Although Sudan has a large number of local and national newspapers in its various political and

ideological orientations that serve the views of landlords and stakeholders, insufficient attention has been given to issues of financial corruption. The contribution of this study revealed the obstacles and challenges that have limited the efficiency of the newspaper to practice its role in the community as investigative journalism. Previous studies have focused on the role of the media in fighting corruption (Sowunmi et al., 2010; Stapenhurst, 2000) or the relationship between press freedom and corruption (Ahrend, 2002; Becker et al., 2013; Brunetti & Weder, 2003; Fardigh, 2007; McConnell & Becker, 2002; Sani, 2014; Sowunmi et al., 2010). Other previous studies focused on the government's advertising and its relationship with media coverage of corruption scandals (Tella & Franceschelli, 2009), whereas (Motlhasedi & Phiri, 2015) focused on the impact of mass media on corruption in South Africa. A few previous studies focused on newspapers framing issues of corruption. Therefore, the present study focuses on how the Sudanese newspaper frame the news of issues of corruption in Sudan.

Significantly also, this study has contributed to the advancement of knowledge and development of humanity in many ways. First, it reveals the extent of the reportage of issues of corruption and other participations of the Sudanese press. Through the reporting of the events, the media influence and sets agenda. Similarly, the findings of the study is very important in discussing corruption and the impact of media on the society in Sudan.

As part of the efforts to find long-lasting solutions to the problem, stakeholders need to collaborate by utilizing their capacity to influence various media and other collaborative activities that can effectively address corruption issues. Newspaper owners and stakeholders should place public and public interest above their personal

interests and consider strengthening the behavior of officials and society in general to combat corruption. The most important means to achieve this is to enable the newspapers play their role by monitoring all violations of the state and society, and to remove the obstacles that hinder the work of journalists in the course of investigative journalism. This is one of the most prominent facts revealed and reinforced. Consequently, this study provides a clear invitation to the media to be more active and professional in investigative journalism and more specifically in the press coverage of corruption issues.

Second, the results revealed that journalists should be trained in the field of investigative journalism in order to obtain a high quality and professional investigative articles in the coverage of the problems faced by the society (i.e. financial corruption among top government officials). The results of this study showed that the majority of reports on corruption cases imposed difficulties on journalists during their work, such as a difficulty in obtaining information, training in the field of the investigative journalism, taxation and financial burdens on press organizations.

Hence, this study considers the need for regular training for journalists in the field of investigative journalism, removal of obstacles faced by the journalists to obtain information and facilitating the financial burdens on press organizations. Another distinct contribution of this study lies in its empirical nature that provides significant insights for the solutions towards development of the press industry in Sudan. The findings of the study also recommend that the State of Sudan should initiate development and revise the laws and procedures that hinder the work of the press while developing it as a good reference material for policy makers in the fight against corruption.

5.6 Limitation of the Research

Though the present study has some limitations, the findings could present insights about the analyses of four newspapers as well as the perspectives of editors and journalists on critical issues in Sudan. First, the present study was conducted in Sudan. As for the interviews, there was a necessity to schedule the appointments in advance with the interviewees. However, many pre-arranged interviews were canceled; a number of participants apologized for being interviewed after having an idea about the subject and the content of the interview questions. In addition, a few participants refused to conduct audio interviews, and other participants declined to be photographed, and some others required to receive written interview questions only to write the responses in a written form.

The second challenge is that the topic under exploration is very critical and serious and is under the authoritarian rule of the country. Therefore, the participants may not have responded completely, despite the confidential assurances and commitment that the data collection is only for academic research purposes. More so, giving human nature, there is likelihood that these informants were reporting only information necessary considering the sensitivity of the issue. However, this problem might only have a little impact on the data collected. Although few participants were reluctant to give full answers to the interview questions, many others were keen to participate and answer the interview questions clearly. In terms of the content analysis, the present study presented the analysis of the content of only four national newspapers, namely AL-Dar, AL-Intibaha, Assayaha, and Sudan Vision. The data obtained were news and editorial commentary issued during a period of 13 months.

The study focused on interviews with journalists and editors to provide more insights and context on the Sudanese newspapers coverage of corruption issues in Sudan. Journalists write newspaper articles, whereas editors make a decision to publish the articles. The editors' answers were important to the research process because it was impossible to obtain a balanced view of issues by the journalists alone because their views were limited to their own experiences. Therefore, the point of view of the editors in the news industry has offered invaluable data to the findings of the present study.

The focus of this study is only on financial corruption in the governmental sector, because financial corruption in the governmental sector by the governmental officials violates the social contract between the individuals and the government, reduces the legitimacy of the political system and the trust of people in the government. Corruption has also played a major role in eroding the legitimacy of the government systems. Government corruption has also played a role in lessening the public trust in the ruling regimes in many countries of the world, specifically the developing countries (Anderson & Tverdova, 2003; E. C. Chang & Chu, 2006; Pharr & Putnam, 2000; Seligson, 2002). In addition, the widespread corruption in the public sector contributes to the growing corruption in the society (Manion, 2004).

5.7 Conclusion

Media play an important role in the society and serve as an effective source of information and a powerful way of communicating. Writers and journalists use media frameworks to streamline information flow to readers. Framing at the basic level is a combination of words that constitutes a sentence, a phrase, or a story that is presented

as a message to the audience. This message, which is provided by the media, has been subjected to research and analysis by analyzing the content part of the current study.

The results of the present study confirmed that there is a clear difference between the newspapers in the way they present the news according to the tendencies, ideology and political color and according to the private interests, the interests of the stakeholders, companies, and the governmental officials which are all determined by the owners of these newspapers.

Another reason for the difference is the financial support provided by the companies in the form of advertisements for different media according to the motives that lead to them. While many media outlets seek to ensure that significant financial resources are available, the independent media are not pressured by large companies and thus are more capable and efficient in presenting themselves to the public as independent, transparent and objective media. The study also highlighted the impact of the environment and the economic factor on newspapers when reporting corruption issues in Sudan. Another main finding of this study was to identify the challenges faced by the journalists, as well as suggesting solutions to the problems faced by the press industry in Sudan.

REFERENCES

- Abd al-Raḥīm, M. (1986). *Imperialism and nationalism in the Sudan*. Khartoum: Khartoum University Press.
- Adaja, T.A. (2016). Newspaper coverage of anti-corruption issues in Nigeria, 1995-2011. *Journal of Communication and Media Research*, 8(1), 53-65.
- Adas, J. (2001). At Princeton, activist Ali Abunimah critiques US media coverage of al-Aqsa Intifada. *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, 20(1), 63.
- Adeyemi, A. (2013). Nigerian media and corrupt practices: The need for paradigm shift. *European Scientific Journal*, 9(1), 119-136.
- Ahrend, R. (2002). Press freedom, human capital and corruption. *DELTA working paper*. Retrieved from <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/d3e6/f0f0feae92eeb246539619f70c5baacdea33.pdf>
- Almosharaf, H. A., & Tian, F. D. (2014). The causes of Sudan's recent economic decline. *IOSR Journal of Economics and Finance (IOSR-JEF) e-ISSN*, 2321-5933.
- Amditis, L. & Halo, M. (2017). What is collaborative journalism? Retrieved from <https://www.poynter.org/.../journalists-around-world-are-working-together-more-ever>
- Amnesty Sudan. (2016). Background information – freedom of the press in Sudan. Retrieved from http://amnesty-sudan.de/amnesty-wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/BackgroundInformation_Pressefreiheit_Sudan_2017.pdf
- Anderson, C. J., & Tverdova, Y. V. (2003). Corruption, political allegiances, and attitudes toward government in contemporary democracies. *American Journal of Political Science*, 47(1), 91-109.
- Arya, O. P., & Sharma, M. S. (2014). Transparency in delivery of entitlements through empowered Civil Society Organisations (CSOs). *Field Actions Science Reports*, (11), 1-8.
- Asogwa, B. E. (2017). Freedom of access to government information in Africa: trends, status and challenges. *Records Management Journal*, 3 (27), 21-37.
- Axinn, W. G., & Pearce, L. D. (2006). *Mixed method data collection strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Axinn, W. G., Fricke, T. E., & Thornton, A. (1991). The microdemographic community-study approach improving survey data by integrating the ethnographic method. *Sociological Methods & Research*, 20(2), 187-217.
- Babbie, E. (1995). *The practice of social research* (7th ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Baglo, G. (2008). The journalists working conditions in Africa. *Paper issued on UNESCO World Press Freedom Day.12*(10), 2012. Retrieved from http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/WPFD2009/pdf/wpfd2008_Background+paper+Baglo.pdf
- Bamidele, O. (2013). Corruption, conflict and sustainable development in African states. *The African Symposium: Journal of the African Educational Research Network*, 13(1), 42-55.
- Baran, S. J., & Davis, D. K. (2003). *Mass communication theory: Foundation, ferment, and future*. Canada: Thomson Wadsworth.
- Barltrop, R. (2011). *Darfur and the international community: The challenges of conflict resolution in Sudan*. London: I.B Tauris.
- Barnett, S. (2004). Media ownership policies: Pressures for change and implications. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 10(2), 8- 21.
- Basit, T. (2003). Manual or electronic? The role of coding in qualitative data analysis. *Educational Research*, 45(2), 143-154.
- Bebawi, S. (2016). *Investigative Journalism in the Arab World: Issues and Challenges*. Retrieved from <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1461444817713207a?journalCode=nmsa>
- Becker, L. B., Naab, T. K., English, C., & Vlad, T. (2013, June). *Measurement issues and the relationship between media freedom and corruption*. Presented to the Journalism Research and Education Section, International Association for Media and Communication Research, Dublin, Ireland.
- Besley, T., & Burgess, R. (2002). The political economy of government responsiveness: Theory and evidence from India. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 117(4), 1415-1451.
- Boadu, S.O. (1981). Mass media and modernization: An assessment of theoretical problems. *Journal of Black Studies*, 12 (2), 193-200.
- Porter, J. (2009). *What are the biggest challenges for media relations in 2009?* Retrieved from <http://blog.journalistics.com/what-are-the-biggest-challenges-for-media-relations-in-2009/>

- Bojanic, D., & Madsen, E. S. (2014). *The effect of internet and digital media freedom on corruption*. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/312147810_On_The_Effect_of_Digital_Transformation_on_Corruption_An_inter-country_analysis
- Blowers, M. (2006). Cracking content – A guide to measuring the media, present and future. Retrieved from www.mediaevaluation.eu
- Brand, L. A. (2007). Middle East studies and academic freedom: Challenges at home and abroad. *International Studies Perspectives*, 8(4), 384-395.
- Brewer, P. R., Graf, J., & Willnat, L. (2003). Priming or framing media influence on attitudes toward foreign countries. *Gazette*, 65(6), 493-508.
- Brunetti, A., & Weder, B. (2003). A free press is bad news for corruption. *Journal of Public Economics*, 87(7), 1801-1824.
- Bryant, J., & Miron, D. (2004). Theory and research in mass communication. *Journal of communication*, 54(4), 662-704.
- Burnett, G., Jaeger, P. T., & Thompson, K. M. (2008). Normative behavior and information: The social aspects of information access. *Library & Information Science Research*, 30(1), 56-66.
- Busch, C., De Maret, P., Flynn, T., Kellum, R., Le, S., Meyers, B., Palmquist, M. (2012). Content analysis. Fort Collins, CO: Colorado State University.
- Camaj, L. (2013). The media's role in fighting corruption: Media effects on governmental accountability. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 18(1), 21-42.
- Carragee, K. M., & Roefs, W. (2004). The neglect of power in recent framing research. *Journal of communication*, 54(2), 214-233.
- Carroll, C. E., & McCombs, M. (2003). Agenda-setting effects of business news on the public's images and opinions about major corporations. *Corporate Reputation Review*, 6(1), 36-46.
- Chang, E. C., & Chu, Y. H. (2006). Corruption and trust: exceptionalism in Asian democracies?. *The Journal of Politics*, 68(2), 259-271.
- Chang, P. K., Ibrahim, F., Ahmad, F., & Khiang, C. C. (2012). Frame contention between news sources and news media. *Asian Social Science*, 8(5), 16-28.
- Chang, S.P. (2012, September). *How the media frame political corruption: Episodic and thematic frame stories found in Illinois Newspapers*. Paper Originally

Prepared for the Ethics and Reform Symposium on Illinois Government. Union League Club, Chicago, Illinois.

- Cho, Y. S., Kong, Y., & Lin, H. F. (2004). *The effect of ownership on content in newspapers*. Midwinter conference of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, New Brunswick, US.
- Chomsky, N. & Herman, E. (1979). *The Washington connection and third world fascism*. Boston: South End Press.
- Chong, D., & Druckman, J. N. (2007). A theory of framing and opinion formation in competitive elite environments. *Journal of Communication*, 57(1), 99-118.
- Christison, K. (1997). US policy and the Arabs: Bound by a frame of reference. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 26(4), 46-59.
- Chyi, H. I., & McCombs, M. (2004). Media salience and the process of framing: Coverage of the Columbine school shootings. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 81(1), 22-35.
- Collins, K. M., Onwuegbuzie, A. J., & Sutton, I. L. (2006). A model incorporating the rationale and purpose for conducting mixed methods research in special education and beyond. *Learning Disabilities: A Contemporary Journal*, 4(1), 67-100.
- Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (1990). Grounded theory research: Procedures, canons, and evaluative criteria. *Qualitative Sociology*, 13(1), 3-21.
- CPJ. (2015). *Sudan passes freedom of information law but journalists remain wary*. Retrieved from <https://cpj.org/blog/2015/02/sudan-passes-freedom-of-information-law-but-journa.php>
- Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (2nd ed.). USA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research design qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (3rd ed.). USA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Creswell, J. W. (2012). *Educational research: Planning, conducting, and evaluating quantitative and qualitative research* (4th ed.). USA: Pearson.
- Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (4th ed.). USA: Sage publications, Inc.

- De Lisle, J. (2011). The benefits and challenges of mixing methods and methodologies: Lessons learnt from implementing qualitatively led mixed methods research designs in Trinidad and Tobago. Retrieved from: <http://uwispace.sta.uwi.edu/dspace/handle/2139/11308>
- Deng, L. A. (2018). *A crisis of governance in South Sudan*. Retrieved from <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/event/crisis-governance-south-sudan>
- De Vreese, C. H. (2005). News framing: Theory and typology. *Information Design Journal and Document Design*, 13(1), 51-62. Retrieved from https://s3.amazonaws.com/academia.edu.documents/32324999/Framing.pdf?AWSAccessKeyId=AKIAIWOWYYGZ2Y53UL3A&Expires=1552288905&Signature=xeOaBN6c1BT%2Fzg79msV7Lauh%2Fb0%3D&response-content-disposition=inline%3B%20filename%3D51_News_framing_Theory_and_typology.pdf
- De Vreese, C. H. (2012). New avenues for framing research. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 56(3), 365-375.
- De Vreese, C. H., Boomgaarden, H. G., & Semetko, H. A. (2011). (In) direct framing effects: The effects of news media framing on public support for Turkish membership in the European Union. *Communication Research*, 38(2), 179-205.
- Delavallade, C. (2006). Corruption and distribution of public spending in developing countries. *Journal of Economics and Finance*, 30(2), 222-239.
- Dewulf, A., Gray, B., Putnam, L., Lewicki, R., Aarts, N., Bouwen, R., & Van Woerkum, C. (2009). Disentangling approaches to framing in conflict and negotiation research: A meta-paradigmatic perspective. *Human relations*, 62(2), 155-193.
- Di Tella, R., & Franceschelli, I. (2011). Government advertising and media coverage of corruption scandals. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 3(4), 119-151.
- Djankov, S., McLiesh, C., Nenova, T., & Shleifer, A. (2003). Who owns the media? *The Journal of Law and Economics*, 46(2), 341-382.
- Domke, D. (2001). Racial cues and political ideology: An examination of associative priming. *Communication Research*, 28(6), 772-801.
- Doyle, G. (2013). *Understanding media economics*. UK: SAGE Publications Limited.
- Duffy, M. J. (2014). Arab media regulations: Identifying restraints on freedom of the press in the laws of six Arabian Peninsula countries. *Berkeley Journal of Middle Eastern & Islamic Law* 6(1) Retrieved from

<https://cloudfront.escholarship.org/dist/prd/content/qt3bg8628m/qt3bg8628m.pdf>

- Dunaway, J. (2008). Markets, ownership, and the quality of campaign news coverage. *The Journal of Politics*, 70(04), 1193-1202. doi:10.1017/S0022381608081140
- Elgizouli, M. (2012). *An overview of the Sudanese print*. Retrieved from <https://www.sudantribune.com/IMG/pdf/sudanstudie2012.pdf>.
- El-Nafabi, H. M. (2010). Public financial management in Sudan. *International Journal of Government Financial Management*, 10(1), 42.
- Entman, R. M. (2007). Framing bias: Media in the distribution of power. *Journal of communication*, 57(1), 163-173.
- Fahmy, S., Relly, J. E., & Wanta, W. (2010). President's power to frame stem cell views limited. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 31(3), 62.
- Fardigh, M. A. (2007, October). *Press freedom and corruption: One of the mass media functions in promoting quality of government*. Paper to be presented at the Quality of Government Institute working conference in Nice, Italy.
- Fisk, R. (2001, August 18). When journalists forget that murder is murder. *The Independent*. Retrieved from <https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/commentators/fisk/robert-fisk-when-journalists-forget-that-murder-is-murder-9169565.html>
- Fombad, C. M., & Fombad, M. C. A. (2015). 31 Rethinking anti-Corruption strategies in Africa: Constitutional entrenchment as basis for credible and effective anti-corruption clean-ups. *Shielding Humanity*, 726-773. Retrieved from <https://brill.com/abstract/title/22172>
- FreedomHouse. (2015). *Freedom in the world 2015: The annual survey of political rights and civil liberties*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.
- FreedomHouse. (2016). *Freedom in the World 2016: The Annual Survey of Political Rights and Civil Liberties*. Lanham, Maryland : Rowman & Littlefield.
- Fusch, P. I., & Ness, L. R. (2015). Are we there yet? Data saturation in qualitative research. *The Qualitative Report*, 20(9), 1408-1416.
- Gehlbach, S., & Sonin, K. (2014). Government control of the media. *Journal of Public Economics*, 118, 163-171.
- Gill, P., Stewart, K., Treasure, E., & Chadwick, B. (2008). Methods of data collection in qualitative research: Interviews and focus groups. *British Dental Journal*, 204(6), 291-295.

- Glaeser, E. L., & Goldin, C. (2007). *Corruption and reform: Lessons from America's economic history*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Glasser. (2013). *International libel and privacy handbook: A global reference for journalists, publishers, webmasters, and lawyers*. New Jersey, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.
- Graber, D. A. (2009). *Mass media and American politics*. UK: Sage.
- Guest, G., Bunce, A., & Johnson, L. (2006). How many interviews are enough? An experiment with data saturation and variability. *Field Methods*, 18(1), 59-82.
- Hall, S. (1980). *Encoding/Decoding, in center for contemporary cultural studies (red.) culture, media, Language*. London: Hutchinson.
- Hamid, Y. B., Mohammed, R. & Ahmed, M. K. (2018). How restrictive laws affect the framing of the issues of corruption in Sudan. *International Journal of Sciences: Basic and Applied Research*, 37 (2), 143-161.
- Herman, E. S. (2002). The media and markets in the United States. In World Bank, *The right to tell: the role of mass media in economic development* (pp. 61-82). Retrieved from <https://hvtc.edu.vn/Portals/0/files/6357419022378659020-8213-5203-2.pdf#page=71>
- Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. (2010). *Manufacturing consent: The political economy of the mass media*. USA: Random House.
- Holbert, R. L., & Hansen, G. J. (2006). Fahrenheit 9-11, Need for closure and the priming of affective ambivalence: An assessment of intra-affective structures by party identification. *Human communication research*, 32(2), 109-129.
- Holsti, O. R. (1967). Cognitive dynamics and images of the enemy. *Journal of International Affairs*, 21(1), 16-39.
- Houston, J. F., Chen, L. & Yue, M. (2011). Media ownership, concentration and corruption in bank lending. *Journal of Financial Economics*, 100(2), 326-350.
- HumanRightsWatch. (2014). *Sudan: No justice for protest killings*. Retrieved from <https://www.hrw.org/news/2014/04/21/sudan-no-justice-protest-killings>
- Hunter, M. L., Van Wassenhove, L. N., Besiou, M., & Van Halderen, M. (2013). The agenda-setting power of stakeholder media. *California Management Review*, 56(1), 24-49.

- Index Economic Freedom.(2016). Washington, DC 20002 (202) 546-4400 Retrieved from <http://www.heritage.org/index/download>
- Johnson, R. B., Onwuegbuzie, A. J., & Turner, L. A. (2007). Toward a definition of mixed methods research. *Journal of mixed methods research*, 1(2), 112-133.
- Kajornboon, A. B. (2005). Using interviews as research instruments. *E-journal for Research Teachers*, 2(1), 1-9.
- Kertzer, D. I., & Fricke, T. (1997). *Anthropological demography: Toward a new synthesis*. USA: University of Chicago Press.
- Klapper, J. T. (1960). *The effects of mass communication*. Retrieved from <http://psycnet.apa.org/record/1962-00995-000>
- Kvale, S. (2007). *Doing interviews*. London, UK: Sage.
- Lawal, G. (2007). Corruption and development in Africa: Challenges for political and economic change. *Humanity and Social Sciences Journal*, 2(1), 1-7.
- Lecheler, S. & De Vreese, C. H. (2012). News framing and public opinion: A mediation analysis of framing effects on political attitudes. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 89(2), 185-204.
- Lecheler, S., & De Vreese, C. H. (2013). What a difference a day makes? The effects of repetitive and competitive news framing over time. *Communication Research*, 40(2), 147-175.
- Lecheler, S., De Vreese, C, H., & Slothuus, R. (2009). Issue importance as a moderator of framing effects. *Communication Research*, 36(3), 400-425.
- Lecheler, S. K. (2010). *Framing politics*. (Doctoral thesis). Retrieved from The Amsterdam School of Communication Research Dissertations and theses. (9789090253503)
- Leitão, A. (2016). Corruption and the environment. *Journal of Socialomics*, 5(3), 1-5 doi:10.41 72/2167-0358.1000173
- Leman, S. U. (2014). *Thoughts on Nigerian media and ethical challenges*. *International Journal of Asian Social Science*. Retrieved from http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_15725-1442-1-30.pdf?150428165044
- Lesch, A. M. (1987). A view from Khartoum. *Foreign Affairs*, 65(4), 807-826.
- Lippmann, W. (1922). The world outside and the pictures in our heads. *Public opinion*, 4, 1-22. Retrieved from <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~Hyper2/CDFinal/Lippman/ch01.html>

- Logune, A. T. (2006). Reporter's notebook: Sudan. *Global Integrity*. Retrieved from www.globalintegrity.org/research/sudan/
- Macnamara, J. R. (2005). Media content analysis: Its uses, benefits and best practice methodology. *Asia-Pacific Public Relations Journal*, 6(1), 1.
- Manion, M. (2004). *Corruption by design: Building clean government in mainland China and Hong Kong*. Harvard: Harvard University Press.
- McCombs, M. (2005). A look at agenda-setting: Past, present and future. *Journalism studies*, 6(4), 543-557.
- McConnell, P. J., & Becker, L. B. (2002). *The role of the media in democratization*. Paper presented at the Political Communication Section of the International Association for Media and Communication Research at the Barcelona Conference. Retrieved from http://www.grady.uga.edu/coxcenter/activities/Act_2001_to_2002/Materials01-02/DemocratizationIAMCRJuly2002.pdf
- McConnell, P. J., & Becker, L. B. (2002, July). *The role of the media in democratization*. Paper presented at the Political Communication Section of the International Association for Media and Communication Research at the Barcelona Conference.
- McNamara, C. (2009). General guidelines for conducting interviews. *Online Integrated Library*. Retrieved from <https://managementhelp.org/businessresearch/interviews.htm>
- McQuail, D. (2010). *Mass communication theory* (6thed). Cornwall: Sage Publications.
- Menon, L. (2013). Media and the law of taxation. Retrieved from https://taxindiaonline.com/RC2/inside2.php3?filename=bnews_detail.php3&newsid=17955
- Meraz, S. (2011). The fight for 'how to think': Traditional media, social networks, and issue interpretation. *Journalism*, 12(1), 107-127. Retrieved from <https://www.google.dk/>
- Miller, K. (2004). *Communication theories: Perspectives, processes, and contexts*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Humanities.
- Moody-Hall, M. (2002, August). British vs. US newspaper framing of Arabs in coverage of the Middle-Eastern conflict pre and post Sept. 11: A case study. In *Conference of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Texas: Baylor University*.

- Morgan, D. L. (2007). Paradigms lost and pragmatism regained methodological implications of combining qualitative and quantitative methods. *Journal of mixed methods research*, 1(1), 48-76.
- Morse, J. M. (1995). The significance of saturation. *Qualitative Health Research*, 5(2), 147-149. Retrieved from <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/104973239500500201>
- Motlhasedi, N., & Phiri, A. (2015). The effects of mass media on corruption in South Africa: A MTAR-TEC perspective. *Economics Bulletin*, 35(3), 1607-1616. Retrieved from <https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/id/eprint/64338>
- Moyosore, S.O. (2015). Corruption in Nigeria: Causes, effects and probable solutions. *International Journal of Political and Administrative Studies (IIARD)*, 1(4), 1-15.
- Muddathir'abd, A. R. (1970). Arabism, Africanism, and self-identification in the Sudan. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 8(2), 233-249.
- Mudhai, O. F. (2007). Light at the end of the tunnel? Pushing the boundaries in Africa. *Journalism*, 8(5), 536-544.
- Muzzatti, S. L., & Featherstone, R. (2007). Crosshairs on our backs: The culture of fear and the production of the DC sniper story. *Contemporary Justice Review*, 10(1), 43-66.
- NCPP. (2016). *Report of checking spread of the newspapers*. Retrieved from <http://ncpp.sd/images/report2015.pdf>
- NCPP. (2016). *The Press and Publications Act of 2009*. Retrieved from https://en..org/wiki/Printing_Presses_and_Publications_Act_1984
- Nelson, T. E., Clawson, R. A., & Oxley, Z. M. (1997). Media framing of a civil liberties conflict and its effect on tolerance. *American Political Science Review*, 91(3), 567-583.
- Neuman, W. R., Just, M. R., & Crigler, A. N. (1992). *Common knowledge: News and the construction of political meaning*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Noelle-Neumann, E. (1973). Return to the concept of the powerful mass media. *Studies in Broadcasting*, 9, 67-112.
- Nwabueze, C., Ugochukwu, C. & Egbra, O. (2014). Newspaper coverage of Nigeria police activities: A content analysis. *An International Journal of Language, Literature and Gender Studies*, Ethiopia, 3(1), 92-113.
- Nogara, M. (2009). Role of media in curbing corruption: The case of Uganda under President Yoweri K. Museveni during the 'No-Party' System. *Economic and*

Social Affairs, (72), 1- 28. Retrieved from:<http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/un-dpadm/unpan039298.pdf>

- O'reilly, M., & Parker, N. (2013). Unsatisfactory saturation: A critical exploration of the notion of saturated sample sizes in qualitative research. *Qualitative Research*, 13(2), 190-197.
- Odugbemi, S., & Norris, P. (2010). Assessing the extent to which the news media act as watchdogs, agenda setters, and gatekeepers. In P. Norris(Ed.), *Public Sentinel: News Media & Governance Reform* (pp. 379-393). Retrieved from <https://gsdrc.org/document-library/assessing-the-extent-to-which-the-news-media-act-as-watchdogs-agenda-setters-and-gatekeepers/>
- Ohlsson, J. (2012). *The practice of newspaper ownership: Fifty years of control and influence in the Swedish local press*. (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from Gupea Dissertations and Theses. (2077/29101/3)
- Okwuchukwu, O. G. (2014). The influence of media ownership and control on media agenda setting in Nigeria. *International Journal of Humanities Social Sciences and Education*, 1(7), 36-45. Retrieved from <https://www.arcjournals.org/pdfs/ijhsse/v1-i7/5.pdf>
- Oladokun, O. (2010). Mass media interest and corruption in Nigeria. *UNILAG Communication Review* 4(2), 21-39. Retrieved from <http://eprints.covenantuniversity.edu.ng/2494/1/Mass%20Media%20Interest%20and%20Corruption%20in%20Nigeria%20by%20Omojola.pdf>
- Olausson, U. (2009). Global warming—global responsibility? Media frames of collective action and scientific certainty. *Public Understanding of Science*, 18(4), 421–436. Retrieved from <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0963662507081242>
- Omenka, I. J. (2013). The effect of corruption on development in Nigeria. *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 15(6), 39-44.
- Omu, F. (2000). *The Nigerian press: Milestones in service*. Lagos: Solasprint (Nigeria) Ltd.
- Pallant, J. (2005). *SPSS survival guide*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Panayırıcı, U. C., İşeri, E., & Şekercioğlu, E. (2016). Political agency of news outlets in a polarized media system: Framing the corruption probe in Turkey. *European Journal of Communication*, 31(5), 551-567.
- Pharr, S. J., & Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Disaffected democracies: What's troubling the trilateral countries?* Princeton, NJ : Princeton University Press.

- Pope J. (2000). *Confronting corruption: The elements of a national integrity system*. Berlin, Germany: Transparency International.
- Potter, W. J. (2009). Defining and measuring key content variables. In Jordan, A. (Ed.), *Media messages and public health: A decisions approach to content analysis*. (pp. 35-52). New York, NY: Taylor & Francis.
- Powers, A., & An, S. (2009). The effect of ownership structure on news coverage in the United States. *Observatorio (OBS*)*, 3(1), 13-27.
- Purer, H. (2003). *Publizistik-und Kommunikationswissenschaft*. Ein Handbuch, Konstanz : UVK Verlagsgesellschaft mbH.
- Reese, S. D., & Buckalew, B. (1995). The militarism of local television: The routine framing of the Persian Gulf War. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 12(1), 40-59.
- Relyea, H. C. (2009). Federal freedom of information policy: Highlights of recent developments. *Government Information Quarterly*, 26(2), 314-320.
- Riak, M. M. (2013). Reversing the trend of corruption in South Sudan: Is Rwanda a suitable model? *Journal of Developing Societies*, 29(4), 487-501.
- Riffe, D., Stephen L. & Frederick G. F. (2008). *Analyzing media messages: Using quantitative content analysis in research*. New Jersey, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Rispo, V. (2015). *The power of "framing effects" and other cognitive biases*. Retrieved from <http://www.adsavvy.org/the-power-of-framing-effects-and-other-cognitive-biases/>
- Roach, S. C. & Hudson, D. K. (2018). *The challenge of governance in South Sudan corruption, peacebuilding, and foreign intervention* (1st ed.). USA: Routledge.
- Said, E. (2001). Time for a change of policy. *Al-Ahram Weekly Online* 15 (21) 560.
- Samson, A. A. & John, O. A. (2012). Corruption and national development in Nigeria's fourth republic: A historical discourse. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 14(7), 81-98.
- Sani, A. A. (2014). Press freedom: Analyzing the portrayal of Nigerian-State on national dailies cover-page headlines. *Journal of Yaşar University*, 9(35), 6255-6260.
- Sappenfield (2002). Americans, Europeans split on Mideast Christian Science Monitor Service 27, 383-390.

- Scharrer, E. (2002). An "Improbable Leap": A content analysis of newspaper coverage of Hillary Clinton's transition from First Lady to Senate candidate. *Journalism Studies*, 3(3), 393-406.
- Scheufele, B. (2004). Framing-effects approach: A theoretical and methodological critique. *Communications*, 29(4), 401-428.
- Scheufele, D. A., & Tewksbury, D. (2007). Framing, agenda setting, and priming: The evolution of three media effects models. *Journal of communication*, 57(1), 9-20.
- Seligson, M. A. (2002). The impact of corruption on regime legitimacy: A comparative study of four Latin American countries. *The Journal of Politics*, 64(2), 408-433.
- Semetko, H. A., & Valkenburg, P. M. (2000). Framing European politics: A content analysis of press and television news. *Journal of communication*, 50(2), 93-109.
- Shaw, D. L., McCombs, M., Weaver, D. H., & Hamm, B. J. (1999). Individuals, groups, and agenda melding: A theory of social dissonance. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 11(1), 2-24.
- Shoemaker, P. J., & Reese, S. D. (1996). *Mediating the message*. White Plains, NY: Longman.
- Sidahmed, A. S., & Sidahmed, A. (2005). *Sudan: The contemporary Middle East*. London and New York: Routledge Curzon.
- Sigal, L. (1973). *Reporters and officials*. Lexington, MA: Heath.
- Sipress, A. (2001, August 18). Egypt warns of rage over US Mideast policy. *Washington Post*.
- Smith, D. J. (2010). Corruption, NGOs, and development in Nigeria. *Third World Quarterly*, 31(2), 243-258.
- Smith, M. (2011). Corruption, kleptocrats and politics: Sudan and Burma. *Huffington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/matthew-smith/corruptionkleptocrats-an_b_807173.html.
- Snyder Jr, J. M., & Strömberg, D. (2010). Press coverage and political accountability. *Journal of political Economy*, 118(2), 355-408.
- Sowunmi, F., Raufu, A., Oketokun, F., Salako, M., & Usifoh, O. (2010). The role of media in curbing corruption in Nigeria. *Research Journal of Information Technology*, 2(1), 7-23.

- Spilker, D. (2012). *The Sudanese press after separation media in cooperation and transition*. Retrieved from <https://www.sudantribune.com/IMG/pdf/sudanstudie2012.pdf>
- Spurk, C. (2016). *Seven challenges to media development*. Retrieved from <http://www.dw.com/en/seven-challenges-to-media-development/a-19533127>
- Stapenhurst, R. (2000). *The media's role in curbing corruption*. Retrieved from <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/893191468766225068/The-medias-role-in-curbing-corruption>
- Starke, C., Naab, T. & Scherer, H. (2016). Free to expose corruption: The impact of media freedom, internet access, and government online service delivery on corruption. *International Journal of Communication*, 10, 4705-4722.
- Stephan, M. (2005). Diversification strategy of global media conglomerates: A comment. *Journal of Media Economics*, 18(2), 85-103.
- Sudan JAM. (2005). *Joint assessment mission, Volumes I, II, III*. Retrieved from [https://postconflict.unep.ch/sudanreport/sudan_website/doccatcher/data/documents/Joint%20Assessment%20Mission%20\(JAM\)%20Volume%20I.pdf](https://postconflict.unep.ch/sudanreport/sudan_website/doccatcher/data/documents/Joint%20Assessment%20Mission%20(JAM)%20Volume%20I.pdf)
- Sullivan, D. (2013). *Investigative reporting in emerging democracies: Models, challenges, and lessons learned*. Retrieved from <http://www.centerforinternationalmediaassistance.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Drew-Sullivan-final-v1.pdf>
- Svensson, J. (2005). Eight questions about corruption. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 19(3), 19-42.
- Tankard, J. W. (2001). The empirical approach to the study of media framing. In S. D. Reese, O. H. Gandy & A. E. Grant (Eds.), *Framing public life* (pp. 95–106). Retrieved from <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/e/9781135655921/chapters/10.4324/9781410605689-12>
- Tella, R., & Franceschelli, I. (2011). Government advertising and media coverage of corruption scandals. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 3(4), 119-51. Retrieved from https://www.hbs.edu/faculty/Publication%20Files/AEJ_Govt%20advertising%20and%20media%20coverage%20of%20corruption%20scandals_cbb969cd-4266-4818-8656-8d751e9b5b28.pdf
- Tetteh, D. A., & King, J. M. (2011). Newspaper coverage of the US healthcare reform debate: A content analysis. *Business Research Yearbook*, 18(2), 503-510.

- Tomkins, R. (2000). Advertising takes off. *Financial Times*. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/scientific/contributions/7934272_Andrew_Tomkins
- Transparency International. (2015). *Corruption perception index*. Retrieved from <https://www.transparency.org/cpi2015>
- TransformationIndexBTI. (2016). *Sudan country report*. Retrieved from https://www.bti/project.org/fileadmin/files/BTI/Downloads/Reports/2016/pdf/BTI_2016_Sudan.pdf
- TransparencyInternational. (2016). *Corruption by country*. Retrieved from <http://www.transparency.org/country#SDN>
- Tuchman, G. (1978). *Making news: A study in the construction of reality*. New York: The Free Press.
- US Department of State, (2016). *Investment climate statements for 2016 Sudan*. Retrieved from <http://www.state.gov/e/eb/rls/othr/ics/investmentclimatestatements/index.htm?year=2016&dlid=254249>
- Van Gorp, B. (2007). The constructionist approach to framing: Bringing culture back in. *Journal of communication*, 57(1), 60-78.
- Verney, P. (1995). *Sudan: Conflict and minorities*. London: Minority Rights Group London.
- Vincent, R. (2000). A narrative analysis of US Press coverage of Slobodan Milosevic and the Serbs in Kosovo. *European Journal of Communication*, 15 (3) 24.
- Voltmer, K. (2010). The media, government accountability, and citizen engagement. In World Bank, *Public Sentinel: News Media and Governance Reform*. (pp. 137-159). Retrieved from <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/un-dpadm/unpan044461.pdf>
- Weatherby, J. N., Arceneaux, C., Evans, E. B., Long, D., Reed, I., & Carter, O. D. (2016). The other world. In Routledge, *The other world* (pp. 21-36). Retrieved from <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/e/9781317343103/chapters/10.4324/9781315662435-7>
- Weaver, D. H. (2007). Thoughts on agenda setting, framing, and priming. *Journal of communication*, 57(1), 142-147.
- Whitten-Woodring, J. (2009). Watchdog or lapdog? Media freedom, regime type, and government respect for human rights. *International Studies Quarterly*, 53(3), 595-625.

- Wolfsfeld, G., & Sheafer, T. (2006). Competing actors and the construction of political news: The contest over waves in Israel. *Political Communication*, 23(3), 333-354.
- World Bank. (2016). *Open data*. Retrieved from <http://data.worldbank.org/country/algeria?view=chart>
- World Bank Group (2017). *Building sustainable public sector capacity in a challenging context*. Retrieved from <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/161481493196781863/Building-sustainable-public-sector-capacity-in-a-challenging-context>
- Yin, R. K. (2011). *Applications of case study research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Yusha'u, M. J. (2009). Investigative journalism and scandal reporting in the Nigerian press. *ECQUID NOVI*, 30(2), 155-174.
- Zhou, Y., & Moy, P. (2007). Parsing framing processes: The interplay between online public opinion and media coverage. *Journal of communication*, 57(1), 79-98.



APPENDIXES



Appendix A

Coding Book

Introduction

This coding book is specifically designed for content analysis method part of the research titled: Newspaper Framing of Issues of Corruption in Sudan. The research is conducted by YASSIN Bashir YASSIN HAMID supervise by Associate Professor Dr. Rosli Mohammed and Dr. Mohd. Khirie Ahmad at the Department of Communication, School of Multimedia Technology and Communication, University Utara Malaysia. This study aims at identifying the level of prominence given to issues of corruption in Sudanese newspapers. In addition, this study also seeks to identify the dominant frames used to cover the issues of corruption in Sudanese newspapers. Therefore, a quantitative content analysis of Sudanese newspaper namely, Aldar, Al-Intibaha, Assayha and Sudan Vision is conducted.

The instructions for coding in this study are as follow:

1. All coders must study and understand this coding book very well before coding the newspapers content pertaining issues of corruption in Sudan.
2. All coders must strictly follow the operationalized concepts and meaning of variables contained in this book.
3. All coders are advised to always refer to this book for clarification and general guidance.
4. After picking a story, the coder is expected to read through it carefully to identify the unit of the story that answers the category then record it by ticking the appropriate box in the coding sheet.
5. The word (article) in this coding book or coding sheet include (News story, opinion, editorial and others)
6. Please use one code sheet for each article.
7. The selection of news articles must be based on the following criteria:
 - a) The article must be longer than two inches in length. (The article must be in a standard-sized column which can be measured with a ruler).
 - b) The article must be written in complete sentences with a central theme. The article must not be part of a paid advertisement.
 - c) The article must be a complete story, not a promotional reference for a full story contained elsewhere.
 - d) If a story starts on the front page and continues inside, it's still considered as front page.

Variables / Categories Operationalization

V. ID	Variables	Coding
1.	Item ID	
2.	Coder ID	Write your ID as applicable. The Coder One (1) is () The Coder Two (2) is () The Coder Three (3) is ()
3.	Source ID/Newspaper ID	Record newspaper ID as applicable. The first newspaper ID is DA (Aldar) The second newspaper ID is IN (Al Intibaha) The third newspaper ID is AS (Assayha) The fourth newspaper ID is SV (Sudan Vision)
4.	Article No.	The article number is determined in order of analysis within the coding sheet assigned to each coder.
5.	Date	Record the date of publication for each of the article being coded thus Day/ Month/ Year.
	Types of the article of issues of corruption (unit of analysis)	Record (Yes) if mentioned or (No) if not: 1. News story 2. opinion 3. Editorial 4. Others
6	News story	If this type of the article of issues of corruption mentioned, record (Yes) and if not, record (No).
7	opinion	If this type of the article of issues of corruption mentioned, record (Yes) and if not, record (No).

8	Editorial	If this type of the article of issues of corruption mentioned, record (Yes) and if not, record (No).
9	Others	If this type of the article of issues of corruption mentioned, record (Yes) and if not, record (No).
	Prominence given to issues of corruption in Sudan: (Placement of the Report)	<p>Placement means the pages where the stories / materials on issues of corruption appear in the newspapers. Record (Yes) if mentioned or (No) if not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Article of corruption issues on the front page (PR10) 2. Article of corruption issues on the back page (PR11) 3. Article of corruption issues on the inside page (PR12)
PR10	Sudanese newspaper reported corruption issues on the front page	If the newspaper reports issues of corruption record (Yes), or (No) if not
PR11	Sudanese newspaper reported corruption issues on the back page	If the newspaper reports issues of corruption on the back page record (Yes), or (No) if not
PR12	Sudanese newspaper reported corruption issues on the inside pages	If the newspaper reports issues of corruption on the inside page record (Yes), or (No) if not
	Prominence given to issues of corruption in Sudan: (Space Allotted to the Report)	<p>Code (Yes) if mentioned or (No) if not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 7. 1 – 9 Columns (SR14) 8. More than 9 columns but less than half (1/2) of a page (SR15) 9. half a page

		10. More than half but less than one page (SR16) 11. Full Page (SR17) 12. More than one page (SR18)
SR13	13. 1 – 9 Columns	If the space allocated to the article of issues of corruption is between 1 to 9 columns record (Yes), or (No) if not
SR14	14. More than 10 columns but less than half (1/2) of a page	If the space allocated to the article of issues of corruption is more than 9 columns but less than half page record (Yes), or (No) if not
SR15	15. half a page	If the space allocated to the article of issues of corruption is half a page record (Yes), or (No) if not
SR16	16. More than half but less than one page	If the space allocated to the article of issues of corruption is more than 9 columns but less than half page record (Yes), or (No) if not
SR17	17. Full Page	If the this space allocated to the article of issues of corruption is full page record (Yes), or (No) if not
SR18	18. More than one page	If the space allocated to the article of issues of corruption more than one page record (Yes), or (No) if not.
	Identification of Dominant Newspaper Frames	
	Attribution of Responsibility	If one of the following indicators are mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).
RF19.	The story suggests that corruption is increasing in Sudan	Does the story suggest that corruption is increasing in Sudan?

		If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No)
RF20.	The story portray that some of the government officials are responsible for the corruption in Sudan	Does the story portray that some of the government officials are responsible for the corruption in Sudan? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No)
RF21.	The story suggest solution(s) to the problem of corruption in Sudan	Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem of corruption in Sudan? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No)
RF22.	The story suggest that an individual, party or group of people in society is responsible for the corruption in Sudan.	Does the story suggest that an individual, party or group of people in society is responsible for the corruption in Sudan? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No):
RF23.	Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action	Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).
	Human Interest Frame	If one of the following indicators are mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).
HF24.	The story provides a human example for the repercussion of corruption in Sudan	Does the story provide a human example for the repercussion of corruption in Sudan? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).

HF25.	The story shows or discuss how individual and group are affected by corruption in Sudan	Does the story shows or discuss how individual and group are affected by corruption in Sudan? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).
HF26.	The story go into the personal or private lives of those accused of corruption	Does the story go into the personal or private lives of those accused of corruption? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).
HF27.	The story goes into the personal or private lives of the officials	Does the story go into the personal or private lives of the officials? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).
HF28.	The story employs adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings or outrage, empathy- caring, sympathy or compassion for those involve in corruption in Sudan	Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings or outrage, empathy- caring, sympathy or compassion for those involve in corruption in Sudan? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).
	Conflict frame	If one of the following indicators are mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).
CF29.	The story reflects disagreement between public and government on issues of corruption in Sudan	Does the story reflect disagreement between public and government on issues of corruption in Sudan? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).

CF30.	One party, individual or group , country criticize another about issues of corruption in Sudan	Does one party, individual or group, country criticize another about issues of corruption in Sudan? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).
CF31.	The story refer to two sides or to more than two sides that are involved in corruption	Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides that are involved in corruption? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).
	Economic consequences Frame	If one of the following indicators are mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).
EF32.	A mention of financial losses or gains on the increasing rate of corruption in Sudan	Is there a mention of financial losses or gains on the increasing rate of corruption in Sudan? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).
EF33.	The degree of corruption involvement in Sudan	Is there a mention of the degree of corruption involvement in Sudan? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).
EF34.	A reference to economic consequences of pursuing and punishing those involved in corruption in Sudan	Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing and punishing those involved in corruption in Sudan? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).
	Morality Frame	If one of the following indicators are mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).

MF35.	The story mentions customs or tradition supporting corruption in Sudan	Does the story mention customs or tradition supporting corruption in Sudan? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).
MF36.	The story suggest some social norms that contribute to increase of corruption in Sudan	Does the story suggest some social norms that contribute to increase of corruption in Sudan? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No):
MF37.	The story offer specific social perceptions about how to behave to fight corruption	Does the story offer specific social perceptions about how to behave to fight corruption? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).



UUM
Universiti Utara Malaysia

Appendix B

Coding Sheet

V. ID	Variables	Coding
1.	Item ID	
2.	Coder ID	
3.	Source ID/Newspaper ID	
4.	Article No.	
5.	Date	
	Types of the news article of issues of corruption (unit of analysis)	
6.	News story	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
7.	Opinion	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
8.	Editorial	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
9.	Other	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
	Prominence given to issues of corruption in Sudan: (Placement of the Report)	
PR10.	Sudanese newspaper reported corruption issues on the front page	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
PR11.	Sudanese newspaper reported corruption issues on the back page	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
PR12.	Sudanese newspaper reported corruption issues on the inside pages	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
	Prominence given to issues of corruption in Sudan: (Space Allotted to the Report)	
SR13.	1 – 9 Columns	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>

SR14.	More than 10 columns but less than half (1/2) of a page	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
SR15.	half a page	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
SR16.	More than half but less than one page	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
SR17.	Full Page	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
SR18.	More than one page	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
	Identification of Dominant Newspaper Frames	
	<i>Attribution of Responsibility</i>	
RF19.	Does the story suggest that corruption is increasing in Sudan?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
RF20.	Does the story portray that some of the government officials are responsible for the corruption in Sudan?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
RF21.	Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem of corruption in Sudan?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
RF22.	Does the story suggest that an individual, party or group of people in society is responsible for the corruption in Sudan?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
RF23.	Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
	<i>Human Interest Frame</i>	
HF24.	Does the story provide a human example for the repercussion of corruption in Sudan?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
HF25.	Does the story shows or discuss how individual and group are affected by corruption in Sudan?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
HF26.	Does the story go into the personal or private lives of those accused of corruption?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
HF27.	Does the story go into the personal or private lives of the officials?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>

HF28.	Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings or outrage, empathy- caring, sympathy or compassion for those involve in corruption in Sudan?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
	<i>Conflict frame</i>	
CF29.	Does the story reflect disagreement between public and government on issues of corruption in Sudan?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
CF30.	Does one party, individual or group , country criticize another about issues of corruption in Sudan?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
CF31.	Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides that are involved in corruption?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
	<i>Economic consequences Frame</i>	
EF32.	Is there a mention of financial losses or gains on the increasing rate of corruption in Sudan?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
EF33.	Is there a mention of the degree of corruption involvement in Sudan?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
EF34.	Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing and punishing those involved in corruption in Sudan?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
	<i>Morality Frame</i>	
MF35.	Does the story mention customs or tradition supporting corruption in Sudan?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
MF36.	Does the story suggest some social norms that contribute to increase of corruption in Sudan?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
MF37.	Does the story offer specific social perceptions about how to behave to fight corruption?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>

Appendix C

Informed Consent for Participation



School of Multimedia Technology and Communication

Informed Consent for Participation in Research Activities:

NEWSPAPERS FRAMING OF ISSUES OF CORRUPTION IN SUDAN

I would like to thank you for giving me the opportunity to meet with you today.

My name is **YASSIN BASHIR YASSIN HAMID** and I would like to talk with you about your experiences as a journalist.

The interview should take about an hour or less. I will be taping the session because I don't want to miss any of your comments.

Although I will be taking some notes during the session, I can't possibly write fast enough to get it all down. Because we're on tape, please be sure to speak up so that we don't miss your comments.

All responses will be kept confidential. This means that your interview responses will only be used for this study only and I will ensure that any information included in the report does not identify you as the interviewee. Remember, you don't have to talk about anything you don't want to and you may end the interview at any time.

Are there any questions about what I have just explained?

Are you willing to participate in this interview?

Interviewee Witness Date

Appendix D Interview Guide

Interview Question
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1- What do you think about the corruption issues? 2- How often the issues of corruption are covered in your respect full newspaper? 3- Do think the pattern of ownership influence the coverage of corruption? 4- In what way will you describe the influence of the ownership on the coverage of issues of corruption? 5- Do you think the access to the government information affect the coverage of the issues of corruption? 6- How the access to the government information affect the coverage of the issues of corruption? 7- Do you think working environment affect the newspaper reported the issues of corruption? 8- How the working environment affect the newspaper when they report the issues of corruption? 9- How it affects the coverage of issues of corruption? 10- What about the economic dimension? 11. Can you propose some solutions for the development of the press industry in Sudan?